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THE WORKS OF
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

MEMORIAL EDITION

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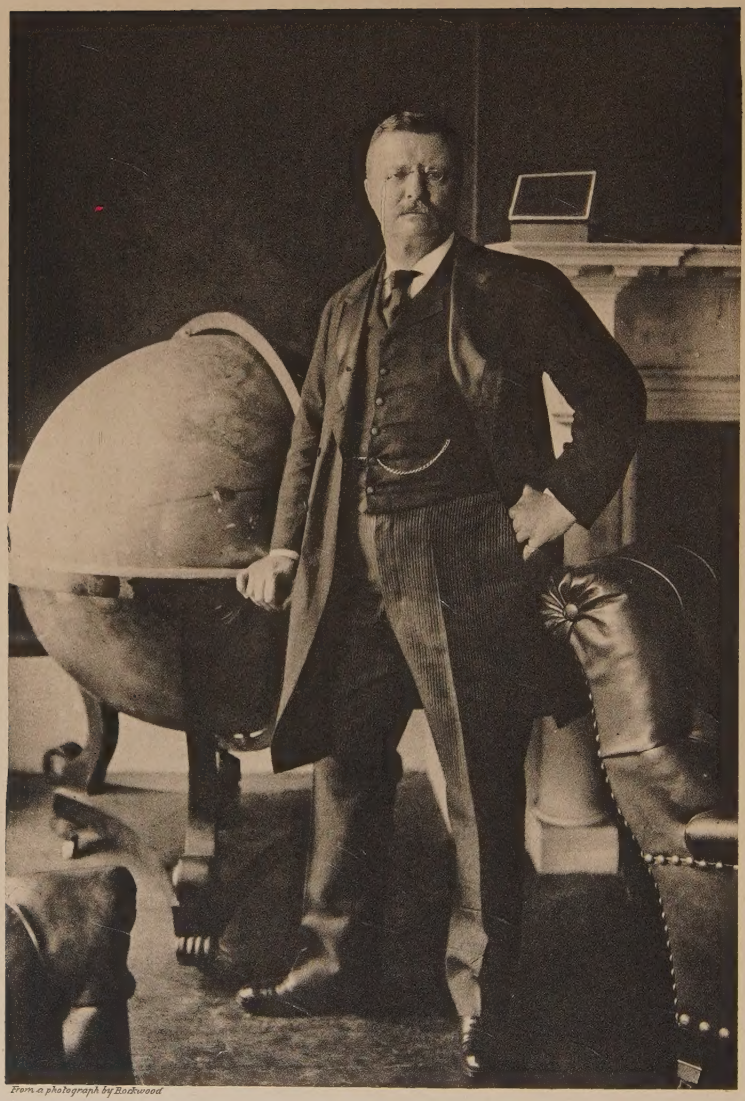
MEMORIAL EDITION

VOLUME XVIII



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT AS PRESIDENT

AMERICAN PROBLEMS

BY

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

WITHDRAWN

NEW YORK
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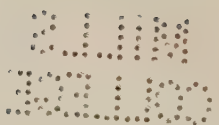

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The collection of Mr. Roosevelt's addresses as President, brought together in this volume, is representative rather than complete. To attempt to publish all the speeches which Mr. Roosevelt delivered during his Presidency would answer no useful purpose, and with its overwhelming mass would tend to obscure rather than to reveal the characteristic qualities of his style and the nature of his appeal. The scholar wishing to consult a fuller record of Mr. Roosevelt's addresses, will find in the Roosevelt Memorial Library at Roosevelt House, a collection which, though of necessity incomplete, includes a large number of speeches hitherto unpublished. It is questionable, however, whether that collection will give him a clearer vision of Mr. Roosevelt's moral, social, political, and economic philosophy than this volume and the preceding volume, containing his more formal State papers, present.

Questions of national and individual character, of civic responsibility and American nationalism are touched upon incidentally in many of the addresses here collected. Mr. Roosevelt's principal addresses on these themes, however, will be found in Volume XV.

H. H.

ROOSEVELT'S CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By Elihu Root

The action of President Roosevelt in the foreign affairs of the United States, to which many of the papers in this volume relate, was somewhat obscured in the public mind by his intense activity in domestic affairs, by the controversies which arose from that activity, and by the greater interest which the people of the country naturally felt in matters with which they were familiar and the relation of which to their daily lives was apparent.

A review, however, of what Mr. Roosevelt did in our foreign relations exhibits ability of the highest order and the same force of character which made his personality so potent an element in our domestic affairs. The same sympathetic understanding of human nature and the same swift insight into motives which were among the causes of his eminent success in national politics gave him also sound judgment and a sense of proportion in dealing with other nations. He was never indifferent to the broader aspects of the country's international relations or to the effects upon the prosperity and morale of the United States which might come in the future as results of the immediate present treatment of situations arising in those relations. He did not think of the international situations which demanded action as being mere occasions of the moment, but he treated each situation with which he dealt as an incident to a national course of conduct, and, with

the trained sense of an ardent student of history and the sagacity of a practical man of affairs, he viewed each international question against the background of those tendencies through which civilization develops and along which particular civilizations advance or decline. He understood well that the will of a nation cannot control the tendencies which the nation follows merely by general expressions of opinion and purposes, but only by the application of will to conduct in the treatment of particular cases. Accordingly he dealt with each case as an instance under a general policy with an effect upon our own national character and upon future friendships and upon future possibilities of unfriendly and aggressive enmities; and he always acted under a strong sense of obligation to make the conduct of America tend toward her own peace and the peace of the world.

The fundamental convictions of his political philosophy were in perfect accord with this way of treating international questions. Those convictions which he applied in practice to government and social organization were identical with the basis upon which the law of nations rests and must necessarily rest if it is to endure. He was sincerely devoted to the preservation of peace, not because he had any objection to fighting himself but because he had a genuine sympathy for the multitudes to whom war inevitably brings suffering and misery. He sincerely desired that the great mass of people of his own country and of other countries as well should have increasing comfort and contentment in life, opportunity for happiness, and the enlargement of knowledge and character which brings capacity for happiness; and he knew that for this, peace is necessary and war is fatal. He believed with intense con-

viction that the only peace which can endure is the peace of justice. He continually urged that publicly by voice and pen and he acted upon it. He insisted upon and applied consistently two corollaries of that proposition; first, that the United States should do justice to all other nations great and small, and second, that the United States should insist upon receiving justice from others, and should maintain such moral and physical strength as to command respect, and make opportunities to treat her unjustly, unattractive to other nations. He recognized and urged two grounds for this view. One ground was that a very rich people incapable of defending its independence and its citizens against aggression constitutes a temptation to which some other nation of predatory instincts will inevitably yield. The other ground was that no nation can exercise a helpful influence upon the development of civilization unless it commands the respect which follows from a recognition that its adherence to peaceful methods and its regard for the rights of others comes from power controlled by justice and not from weakness controlled by fear. The sending of the battleship fleet around the world was a gesture designed to strike the imagination of the nations including the United States with a conviction that this was the kind of judgment to which the United States was entitled; and the way in which the visits of the fleet were accepted gave evidence of a general feeling that the exhibition of power by the United States was a guarantee of peace and not a menace to peace.

Another result of these convictions regarding justice as an essential basis of peace was that President Roosevelt was always strongly in favor of creating international institutions which should afford opportunities for

the solution of honest differences between nations as to what is just under the circumstances out of which international controversies arise. It was his sending the Pious Fund case between the United States and Mexico to arbitration at The Hague which first gave practical reality to the Permanent Court of Arbitration, created at the International Conference of 1899.

When the navies of Great Britain and Germany and Italy were blockading the ports of Venezuela to compel the performance of that country's obligations, and an occupation of territory which might have tested our willingness to maintain the Monroe Doctrine seemed possible, it was at President Roosevelt's instance that the dangers to international peace were avoided by the reference of the controversy to the same Hague Tribunal. It was under his administration that treaties of arbitration were made between the United States and a score of other countries, including all the principal powers of the world except Germany. It was under his administration and under one of those arbitration treaties that the agreement was made under which the age-long controversy over the Newfoundland Fisheries was submitted to the Hague Tribunal where it was afterward disposed of apparently with absolute finality. It was he who in October, 1904, issued the original invitations for the second Hague Conference which was held in abeyance pending the conclusion of the war between Russia and Japan. In reporting this action in his message to Congress of December 5th, 1905, he said:

"I have dwelt much on the dangers to be avoided by steering clear of any mere, foolish sentimentalities, because my wish for peace is so genuine and earnest; because I have a real and great desire that this second Hague Conference may mark a long stride forward in

the direction of securing the peace of justice throughout the world. No object is better worthy the attention of enlightened statesmanship than the establishment of a surer method than now exists of securing justice as between nations both for the protection of the little nations and for the prevention of war between the big nations. To this aim we should endeavor not only to avert bloodshed but above all effectively to strengthen the force of right."

When the Russo-Japanese War was finished and Russia was ready to go on with the conference, President Roosevelt showed his natural impulse for courtesy and his appreciation of the value of it in international affairs by stepping aside and allowing the Emperor of Russia to substitute a new invitation of his own to the second Hague Conference in place of that which Mr. Roosevelt had already sent. At that conference when it met in 1907, the policy already declared in the 1905 message to Congress was followed by the American Delegation at The Hague with Mr. Choate at its head, and the progress which they made in securing a tentative agreement upon the character and constitution of a Court of International Justice, composed of permanent judges giving their entire time to their judicial duty, became the foundation of the present Court of International Justice. Mr. Roosevelt said of the work of that conference in his message to Congress of December 3d, 1907:

"Substantial progress was also made toward the creation of a permanent judicial tribunal for the determination of international cases. There was very full discussion of the proposal for such a court and a general agreement was finally reached in favor of its creation. The Conference recommended to the sig-

natory powers the adoption of a draft upon which it agreed, for an organization of the Court, leaving to be determined only the method by which the judges should be selected. This remaining unsettled question is plainly one which time and good temper will solve."

That solution seems already to have made satisfactory progress and for its completion nothing seems necessary but that Roosevelt's prescription of good temper should be applied in acting under the messages of President Harding and President Coolidge regarding the World Court.

Mr. Roosevelt had reached the conclusions indicated in these messages, regarding the importance of a permanent judicial tribunal for the determination of international cases, early in his first administration when he was dealing with the Alaskan boundary controversy. That controversy turned in the main upon the interpretation of a Treaty made in 1825 between Great Britain and Russia. An interpretation upon which the British claim was based was quite recent and had not been suggested until after Russia and the United States successively had been in peaceable possession of the territory for several generations. A serious attempt to settle the matter had been made by the joint High Commission of 1898, in which Lord Herschell was chairman of the British section and Vice-President Fairbanks chairman of the American section. That attempt failed and the Alaskan boundary question remained an immovable barrier behind which were accumulating other unsettled questions between the United States and Great Britain. Mr. Roosevelt considered the claim to be wholly without foundation, but in considering the question of arbitrating the claim he had to realize that the tendency of arbitrators was to proceed diplo-

matically and compromise questions instead of proceeding judicially to decide them. He was not willing to confer upon anybody the power to make such a compromise of what he considered to be a clear right of the United States and he insisted upon a judicial decision. Great Britain assented to that view and the Alaskan boundary tribunal which met in London in 1903, under the Presidency of the Lord Chief Justice of England, was solemnly charged by the terms of its appointment to proceed judicially and not to adjust differences but to decide rights. This experience brought Mr. Roosevelt to the threshold of the second Hague Conference with a perfectly definite conception of the difference between the two kinds of tribunal for the disposal of international questions, and a conviction that there ought to be a really judicial tribunal to which questions of right arising between nations could be submitted.

Although the combative element was very strong in Mr. Roosevelt's character and he was himself always ready to fight on what he deemed adequate occasion, he was naturally of a friendly disposition. That immense friendliness toward all kinds and conditions of people which made him such a multitude of friends had in it no element of pretense. It was the reaction of his genuine human sympathies, emphasized by his amazing vitality. He was naturally courteous. He had that by inheritance and by training and by instinct. He had a sweet and sudden temper. There was nothing sulky or nagging about him. He was most solicitous to make every one around him happy. These qualities made it easy for him to carry into all his conduct of diplomacy that courtesy and consideration which from his reading and experience he had found to be of the

utmost value in the intercourse between governments. This was illustrated by his treatment of the invitation to the second Hague Conference already mentioned. He was indifferent to the temporary credit which might come to him from having the conference meet on his invitation, but he was delighted by an opportunity to put a friendly act out at interest for the benefit of his country. The same spirit moved him when he took the initiative in bringing about the Treaty of Portsmouth which ended the war between Japan and Russia. The initial impulse upon which he started was the desire to do a friendly act toward Japan, whose government wanted peace and made that known to Mr. Roosevelt. The thoroughly game quality of the man was illustrated after the Treaty of Portsmouth, when the public of Japan, disappointed at not having obtained by the settlement everything which they could have obtained by complete conquest, made it clear that they regarded him as an intermeddler and he remained perfectly silent under criticism, giving no intimation that he had not proceeded entirely of his own motion in bringing the two countries together. In very much the same way Mr. Roosevelt exercised the controlling influence which brought about the Conference of Algeciras on the urgent request of Kaiser William who had got himself into a situation from which he wanted to be extricated, and who explicitly promised Mr. Roosevelt to be guided by him in the conference if the conference could be brought about. I suppose the Nobel Peace Prize which came to Mr. Roosevelt in 1906 was largely based upon the service rendered to the community of nations at Algeciras and at Portsmouth. A knowledge of the underlying motives upon which he acted, free from any selfish purpose or desire for personal advantage, and

inspired by the neighborly spirit which goes so far toward establishing peaceful standards of international conduct, adds confirmation to the judgment of the Norwegian Committee which made the award.

His kindly consideration for the feelings of other countries was especially marked in his treatment of the questions arising between the United States and Japan. He sympathized fully with the insistence of the people of our Pacific coast States that their territory should not be taken away from them through peaceful invasion by a multitude of foreign laborers whose habits of life and industry were such that Americans could not compete with them in production; but he was extremely solicitous that all measures to prevent that result should be of such a character that the real ground of action would be apparent and that neither in fact nor in appearance should there be any discourtesy toward Japan or any ground for a feeling on her part that the limitations upon America's welcome to her citizens were based upon an assumed superiority. This feeling was worked out with great painstaking in the settlement of the California School question and in the so-called gentlemen's agreement of 1907. That was an informal agreement between the executives of the two countries under which in lieu of our excluding Japanese laborers, the Japanese Government undertook to refuse passports permitting their laborers to come to the United States. A set of formal rules governing the issue of passports was prepared by the Japanese Government and was submitted to our government for its consideration. An agent of the Immigration Bureau at Washington was sent to Tokio to discuss these rules with the Japanese officials. The rules having been perfected to the satisfaction of both governments, they were put in force by the Japa-

nese government, and the American Congress in the Immigration Act of 1907 enacted an express authority to the President to exclude laborers coming without passports. The action of Congress was upon Mr. Roosevelt's urgent request. When the General Commercial Treaty between the United States and Japan expired in 1911 our State Department took pains upon renewing the treaty to secure from Japan a formal written declaration of its intention to continue to abide by the arrangement so made. This declaration was reported to the Senate and was before them when the new treaty was ratified. Japan has lived up to her agreement and it seems unfortunate that Mr. Roosevelt's policy as to the way of treating the delicate and very difficult subject of exclusion of laborers, although still approved by our Executive Department, has been repudiated by Congress. In treating all the foreign questions which arose during his administration Mr. Roosevelt was a representative of what is called the new as distinguished from the old diplomacy. If we can trust history, the principal object of the old diplomacy was to gain what were considered diplomatic victories by getting the better of another government in a bargain. The intervention of modern popular sovereignty in the control of foreign affairs has changed all that materially and has made it the primary object of diplomacy to maintain rights in such a way as to promote and maintain the friendship of the peoples of other countries.

The thoroughgoing way in which Mr. Roosevelt embraced that view of international relations is exhibited in his message to Congress of December, 1906, and in the fine enthusiasm with which he describes there the *demarches* made by his Administration in that year toward the South American Republics, with the

desire to dispel misunderstandings and prejudice and to open the way for increased friendship and co-operation.

On appropriate occasions Mr. Roosevelt applied the other branch of his doctrine regarding the peace of justice and gave satisfactory evidence that he would not permit injustice to be done by others where his country was concerned. One of these occasions was when Kaiser William stood out alone in refusing to agree to arbitration of the claims against Venezuela and persisted in maintaining a blockade off LaGuaira. Mr. Roosevelt notified the German ambassador that he had ordered Admiral Dewey and the American fleet to Venezuela and it would sail if arbitration was not agreed upon by a given day. I am not aware that he ever stated what the fleet would do when it reached LaGuaira, but it was evident that its presence would create a situation making arbitration desirable even from the Kaiser's point of view, and arbitration was accordingly agreed upon.

Another occasion was when in November, 1903, Mr. Roosevelt recognized the Republic of Panama, and thereafter dealt with Panama instead of Colombia as the owner of the Canal Zone. The essential facts leading to that action were these:

Panama was originally an independent republic and in 1903 was held by Colombia solely by right of conquest effected in 1886, and was subject to foreign military control from Bogota. Panama had been for years attempting in repeated efforts by force of arms to secure her freedom from this control and she had been defeated only by the interposition of the United States with military and naval force to prevent interference with traffic across the Isthmus upon the Panama Railroad which would result from Civil War. The last of

these attempts before November, 1903, extended from 1899 to September, 1902, when it was ended by the United States. In the meantime a gentleman named Maroquin had become dictator of Colombia, and was exercising all the functions both of executive and of legislative government without question. Maroquin, desirous to prevent the adoption of the Nicaragua route, made a treaty with the United States for the building of the canal across the Isthmus of Panama. He bound himself by that treaty and he had absolute and unquestioned power to confirm and ratify. Having made this treaty, the United States agreed with the French Panama Canal Company to pay that company forty million dollars for the work which they had done toward building the canal and for their material on the Isthmus. Thereupon Maroquin determined that instead of ratifying his treaty he would wait until the French concession expired and then demand from the United States the forty million dollars which was to have been paid to France. This purpose was plainly exhibited and in pursuance of it he called together a Congress controlled by himself to refuse ratification of the treaty. The Congress had no other purpose and performed no other function than to refuse ratification. Thereupon Colonel Philippe Bunau Varilla, a distinguished French engineer and soldier, who had been engaged in the French work of canal construction, bestirred himself to prevent the spoliation of the French Company by Maroquin's devious tactics. He convinced himself that there was at last an opportunity for a successful renewal of revolution by Panama, because the indignant government of the United States could no longer be relied upon to help Colombia reassert her control. Aided by the sagacity and courage of Bunau

Varilla, a new revolution was inaugurated in which the people of Panama were unanimous and in which they drove out the Colombian garrisons and took possession of all the machinery of government on the Isthmus, so that the re-establishment of Colombian control would have to be by a new conquest. Up to this time the government of the United States had not directly or indirectly taken any part in these affairs upon the Isthmus except to insist in accordance with its invariable custom that no hostilities between factions should interfere with the neutralized railroad transit across the Isthmus. The Panamanians had counted upon the continuance of this established policy of the United States on the Isthmus which had always worked in favor of the party in possession and which had defeated them in 1895 and again in 1902, and by acquiring complete possession in 1903 they put themselves in such a position that they had nothing to fear from the United States unless that country changed its policy for the purpose of helping Colombia. They adopted a constitution, elected a president, and other government officers, appointed Bunau Varilla minister to the United States, and through him asked for recognition and proposed to make a treaty for the building of the canal. In the meantime, Maroquin, alarmed by the consequence of his action, proposed that if the United States would not recognize the Republic of Panama he would immediately ratify the old treaty which he had made with the United States, either by his own decree or by calling a congress which would ratify it, as the United States preferred. Mr. Roosevelt had to decide whose claim of title to the Isthmus he would recognize in making the treaty offered by both sides to the controversy. He decided against the man who had tried

to play a game with the United States and who sought his aid to bring Panama back under foreign military control; and he recognized and took his lease from the rightful owners and actual possessors of the Canal Zone. The decision was in accordance with substantial justice and with clear legal right.

In the same category of insistence upon justice toward the United States falls the vigorous assertion of the rights of American citizens sojourning in other countries, which characterized the whole of Mr. Roosevelt's presidency. The most widely known case of this kind arose upon the capture of the American citizen Perdicaris by the Moroccan bandit Raisuli with its characteristic and very popular demand for "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead." Vigorous assertion of rights, especially in such form as to strike the imagination, serves not merely to benefit the particular citizen directly concerned but it serves to create everywhere an atmosphere of respect for the rights of all citizens of the country which is vigilant and determined. Accordingly there was throughout the Roosevelt administration very wholesome respect for the rights of American citizens everywhere.

At the same time he took especial pains to prevent abuses of American protection. Advantages of American protection had become widely recognized and thousands of citizens of other countries, especially to the east and south of the Mediterranean, had acquired American citizenship for the sole purpose of returning to their own country and there spending the rest of their lives under a protection which made them more secure than were their own countrymen. This practice was disposed of by securing from Congress the act of March 2, 1907, under which when a naturalized citizen

leaves this country instead of residing in it, two years' residence in the country of his origin or five years' residence in any other country creates a presumption of renunciation of citizenship.

Roosevelt was a great international force, not merely by reason of the greatness of the country which he represented but because he had insight and skill and courage and the momentum of a tremendous personality. He had the habit of meeting all questions immediately, at the first possible moment, and of declaring his position regarding them with the utmost frankness and without any procrastination or equivocation. No one could be more unlike the traditional diplomatist either in character or in method, yet he had an instinct for discerning the action which his principles demanded, and for finding the line of least resistance, and there was a simplicity and sincerity about the matter-of-course way in which he followed his declared principles without vacillation which made his course seem natural to others and therefore free from irritation. His method is a far better way to preserve peace than the method of procrastination under which public opinion in both countries drifts unguided into public controversy, and the people of each country come to assume that all the right and all the reason are on their side, so that reasonable settlement becomes almost impossible. Mr. Roosevelt's expressions upon questions with other governments received great weight from his known character as a man who naturally tended to follow decision by action without any nervous shrinking from consequences, and to this was added a knowledge of his powerful position of leadership among the people of the United States which made it appear probable that his action would have popular approval and support in his own country.

Very important for his effectiveness was the fact that the governments of other countries came to understand that he meant what he said and that he was not playing to the galleries or making bids for popularity at home. An illustration of the importance of this understanding is to be found in the fate that befell the American note of February 10th, 1915, to Germany, upon the German notice of her purpose to sink merchant vessels without safeguarding the lives of innocent passengers. That was an admirable note which gave notice that the United States would act if the lives of her citizens or her merchant vessels were destroyed. If that note had been taken seriously the *Lusitania* would not have been sunk, but the Austrian ambassador satisfied himself by inquiring in Washington and reported to his government that the note "was intended for effect at home in America," and accordingly the note was ignored. The failure of our government to follow the note by the action which it threatened rendered all subsequent warnings and protests by our government regarding submarine warfare of no effect whatever.

Most important of all for Mr. Roosevelt's influence in the treatment of questions with other governments was the realization on their part, established by his conduct, that he was genuine and sincere in his desire for peace, based upon justice, and that what he did and what he demanded was always what he believed to be just.

It is interesting to observe that with all his varied and potent activity in the affairs of the community of nations, Mr. Roosevelt never entangled himself or his country in foreign politics or foreign quarrels. He never took part in any matter between nations except upon just occasion based upon the legal rights and duties of

the United States. It was only by doing the things that his office called upon him to do and by the way in which he did those things that he impressed the civilized world with a sense of sincerity, of friendly consideration, and of power, official and personal, and acquired an influence in the international affairs of the world beyond all previous experience of the American government.

AMERICAN PROBLEMS

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I

THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

1

"WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE"*

MR. Chairman, and you, my old friends and neighbors, you among whom I was brought up and with whom I have lived for so many years:

It is a real and great pleasure to have the chance of being with you to-day, to say a few words of greeting to you, and in a sense to give an account of my stewardship. I say in a sense, friends, because after all the stewardship really has to give an account of itself. If a man needs to explain overmuch what he has done, it is pretty sure proof that he ought to have done it a little differently; and so as regards most of what I have done I must let it speak for itself.

But there are two or three things about which I want to talk to you to-day; and, if in the presence of the dominies I may venture to speak from a text, I shall take as my text the words of Abraham Lincoln which he spoke in a remarkable little address delivered to a band of people who were serenading him at the White House just after his re-election to the presidency. He said (I quote from memory only): "In any great national trial hereafter, the men of that day, as compared with those of this, will be as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us therefore study the incidents of this as philosophy from which to learn

* Speech at Oyster Bay, N. Y., July 4, 1906.

wisdom, and not as wrongs to be avenged." And he added later in the speech a touching and characteristic expression of his, saying: "So long as I have been here, I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's breast."

Now, friends, remember that Lincoln faced the greatest crisis that this nation has seen since the Revolutionary War—as great a crisis as the nation can ever face, for it was a crisis which, accordingly as the result went one way or the other, meant national life or national death; and yet with all his firm resolution of purpose, with all the unbending strength of his will, with all the deep-seated intensity and sincerity of belief which alone could have borne him up through trials such as those he had to face, it was yet possible for him to say with entire truth that he bore no rancor even to those who had gone hopelessly wrong; that while endeavoring ruthlessly to cut out the evil, he yet did his work without hatred to the doer of the evil; that while never for one moment blinding himself to the truth of what was roundabout him, he yet did not treat anything that was done against him as a wrong to be avenged. He treated the wrong as calling for a remedy, not as calling for vengeance. It is in this spirit that we as a nation, if we possess the power of learning aright the lessons to be taught us by Lincoln's life, will approach our problems of to-day. We haven't the same problems, nor as great problems, as those with which the men of Lincoln's generation were brought face to face; and yet our problems are real and great, and upon the way in which we solve them will depend whether or not our children have cause to feel pride or shame as American citizens.

If Lincoln and the men of his generation, the men

who followed Grant in the field, who upheld the statesmanship of Lincoln himself in the council-chamber—if those men had not done their full duty, not a man here would carry his head high as an American citizen. Any work done by any man must largely have its influence, not upon the life of that man, but upon the lives of those coming after him; and just as this was true of the men of Lincoln's generation, so it will be true of those that follow us. We who did not fight in the Civil War have reaped the immeasurable benefit from the courage and self-devotion of those who did fight. Had the grapes they pressed to their lips been sour, our teeth would have been set on edge. Had they shown themselves cowards, our heads would have been bowed in shame. So if we of this generation do our duty when face to face with our special industrial, social, and political problems, our children and children's children shall be the better for it. If we fail in our duty, if you men here of middle life, you men with children, if you fail in your duty, by just so much do you add to the weight of the burdens that your children shall bear. Our duty calls for the exercise of more than one quality on our part. First of all, it calls of course for the qualities of honesty and courage. I use honesty in the broadest sense—honesty in the sense of disinterested devotion to what is right, disinterested devotion to the ideals of our national life. If we have not those qualities first, then all else shall avail us little. In 1861 the first qualities necessary were those qualities of the heart which made the average loyal citizen resolute that even at the cost of his own life the Union should be preserved, which gave him the power to appreciate what was meant by lofty devotion to an ideal, and the power to put into actual fact that devotion. The man needed to feel the lift of

patriotism first; and then he needed the courage to make his patriotism of avail. There are old soldiers in this, as in every other audience that I address, and these men know that first and foremost it was necessary to have the power of love for the Union, of love for the nation; and that next it was necessary to have the courage to make that love good. I do not care how devoted the old soldier was to the Union, if when the crisis came he ran away, his devotion did not count; and on the other hand no quality of courage availed the man if he had not in him the spur that drove that courage into action, that made that courage of avail to his neighbors. In the same fashion we citizens of these peaceful days need first and foremost the moral quality; and next, back of that moral quality, the courage, moral and physical as well, that makes the moral quality count. Yet these qualities by themselves are not enough. The greatest patriotism and the greatest courage can be hopelessly marred by folly. None of you are worth anything as citizens, none of you can be worth anything as citizens, if you have not the fund of moral qualities which find expression in love of country, love of neighbors, love of home, which make you honest, decent, clean-living, right-thinking. None of you will be worth anything if in addition to those qualities you haven't the courage, physical and moral, without which no American citizen can do his full duty as a citizen. And yet, back of them and in addition to them we must have the sanity, the common sense, the just judgment, which neither hysterically overemphasizes nor blindly refuses to acknowledge the wrongs that exist and the ways in which those wrongs must be cured.

We have heard a great deal during the past year or two of the frightful iniquities in our political and our

business life, the frightful wrong-doing in our social life. Now there is plenty of iniquity in business, in politics, in our social life. There is every warrant for our acknowledging these great evils. But there is no warrant for growing hysterical about them. It is a poor trick to spend nine-tenths of the time in saying that there never was such iniquity as is shown in this nation; and the remaining tenth in saying that we are the most remarkable nation that ever existed. We want to be more careful in blaming ourselves and more careful in praising ourselves. Overemphasis in praise, as well as overemphasis in blame, is apt to overreach itself; just as the man who promises too much—especially on the stump—is apt to strike the balance by performing too little. It is true that there is much evil; but in speaking about it do not let us lose our heads; and above all let us avoid the wild vindictiveness preached by certain demagogues—a vindictiveness as far as the poles asunder from the wise charity of Abraham Lincoln. Let us remember that many of the men who do the things of which we complain, even among those who do the worst, are American citizens with much the same tastes, tempers, and characters as we have, but who have been exposed to special temptations. Of course there are some men who are inherently wicked, and for these only drastic punishment will avail. But very many wrong-doers, especially when the wrong-doing is committed by a whole class, are wrong-doers only through force of circumstances. Try to remove the cause of their wrong-doing; remove as far as may be both the power and the temptation to do wrong; but do not cultivate toward them a spirit of rancorous hatred which in the end will react most surely upon ourselves. War with the evil; but show no spirit of malignity toward

the man who may be responsible for the evil. Put it out of his power to do wrong; if necessary punish him where he has done wrong; but do not let this nation ever get into the frame of mind which, under infinitely greater provocation, Abraham Lincoln strove to prevent its falling into at the time of the Civil War. The poorest of all emotions for any American citizen to feel is the emotion of hatred toward his fellows. Let him feel a just and righteous indignation where that just and righteous indignation is called for; let him not hesitate to inflict punishment where the punishment is needed in the interest of the public; but let him beware of demanding mere vengeance; and above all of inciting the masses of the people to such demand. Such a demand is alike un-Christian and un-American, and the man who makes it is false to the highest duties, principles, and privileges of American citizenship.

There is wrong enough to fight. Fight it, cut it out; and having cut it out, go your ways without either hatred or exultation over those at whose expense it has been necessary that it should be cut out. There are plenty of wrongs done by men of great means, and there are plenty of wrongs done by men of small means. Another sentence of Abraham Lincoln's which it is well to remember is that "there is a deal of human nature in mankind." If a man possesses a twisted morality he will show that twisted morality wherever he may happen to be. If he is not a man of really twisted morals, but an ordinary happy-go-lucky individual who does not think very deeply, he will often do what ought not to be done if nobody brings home his duty to him, and if the chances are such as to render wrong-doing easy. Show scant mercy to the man of twisted morality; but remember that the second type of wrong-doer stands

more in need of the reformatory than the penitentiary.

This year in Congress our chief task has been to carry the government forward along the course which I think it must follow consistently for a number of years to come—that is, in the direction of seeking, on behalf of the people as a whole through the National Government, which represents the people as a whole, to exercise a measure of supervision, control, and restraint over the individuals and especially over the corporations of great wealth in so far as the business use of that wealth brings it within the reach of the Federal Government. We have accomplished a fair amount, and the reason that we have done so has been in the first place because we have not tried to do too much, and in the next place because we have approached the task absolutely free from any spirit of rancor or hatred. In any such movement a man will find that he has allies whom he does not like. You cannot protect property without finding that you are protecting the property of some people who are not very straight. You cannot war against the abuses of property without finding that there are some people warring beside you whose motives you would frankly repudiate. But in each case be sure that you keep your own motives and your own conduct straight. When it becomes necessary to curb a great corporation, curb it. I will do my best to help you do it. But I will do it in no spirit of anger or hatred to the men who own or control that corporation; and if any seek in their turn to do wrong to the men of means, to do wrong to the men who own those corporations, I will turn around and fight for them in defense of their rights just as hard as I fight against them when I think that they are doing wrong.

Distrust as a demagogue the man who talks only of

the wrong done by the men of wealth. Distrust as a demagogue the man who measures iniquity by the purse. Measure iniquity by the heart, whether a man's purse be full or empty, partly full or partly empty. If the man is a decent man, whether well off or not well off, stand by him; if he is not a decent man stand against him, whether he be rich or poor. Stand against him in no spirit of vengeance, but only with the resolute purpose to make him act as decent citizens must act if this Republic is to be, and to be kept, what it shall become.

2

THE WISDOM OF HOPE IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS *

Men of Illinois, and you, men of Kentucky and Missouri:

I am glad to have the chance to speak to you to-day. This is the heart of what may be called the Old West, which we now call the Middle West, using the term to denote that great group of rich and powerful States which literally forms the heart of the country. It is a region whose people are distinctively American in all their thoughts, in all their ways of looking at life; and in its past and its present alike it is typical of our country. The oldest men present can still remember the pioneer days, the days of the white-tented ox-wagon, of the emigrant, and of the log cabin in which that emigrant first lived when he settled to his task as a pioneer farmer. They were rough days, days of hard work, and the people who did that work seemed themselves uncouth and forbidding to visitors who could not look below the surface. It is curious and amusing to think that even as genuine a lover of his kind, a man normally so free from national prejudices as Charles Dickens, should have selected the region where we are now standing as the seat of his forlorn "Eden" in "Martin Chuzzlewit." The country he so bitterly assailed is now one of the most fertile and productive portions of one of the most fertile and productive agricultural territories in all the world, and the dwellers in this territory represent a higher average of comfort, intelligence, and sturdy capacity for self-government than the people in any tract

* Address at Cairo, Ill., October 3, 1907.

of like extent in any other continent. The land teems with beauty and fertility, and but a score of years after Dickens wrote it was shown to be a nursery and breeding-ground of heroes, of soldiers and statesmen of the highest rank, while the rugged worth of the rank and file of the citizenship rendered possible the deeds of the mighty men who led in council and in battle. This was the region that brought forth mighty Abraham Lincoln, the incarnation of all that is best in democratic life; and from the loins of the same people, living only a little farther south, sprang another of our greatest Presidents, Andrew Jackson—"Old Hickory"—a man who made mistakes, like most strong men, but a man of iron will and incorruptible integrity, fearless, upright, devoted to the welfare of his countrymen, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, a typical American if ever there was one.

I commend a careful reading of "Martin Chuzzlewit" to the pessimists of to-day, to the men who, instead of fighting hard to do away with abuses while at the same time losing no jot of their buoyant hopefulness for the country, insist that all our people, socially and industrially, in their private lives no less than as politicians, newspaper men, and business men, are at a lower ebb than ever before. If ever any one of you feels a little downcast over the peculiarly gloomy view of the present taken by some well-meaning pessimist of to-day, you will find it a real comfort to read "Martin Chuzzlewit," to see what a well-meaning pessimist of the past thought of our people sixty-five years ago; and then think of the extraordinary achievement, the extraordinary gain, morally no less than materially, of those sixty-five years. Dickens can be read by us now with profit; Elijah Pogram, Hannibal Chollop, Jefferson Brick, and Scadder

have their representatives to-day, plenty of them; and the wise thing for us to do is to recognize that these are still types of evil in politics, journalism, business, and private life, and to war against them with all our hearts. But it is rank folly to regard these as the only, or the chief, types in our national life. It was not of much consequence whether Dickens made such an error or not, but it would be of great consequence if we ourselves did; for a foolish pessimism is an even greater foe of healthy national growth than a foolish optimism. It was not that Dickens invented characters or scenes that had no basis in fact; on the contrary, what he said was true, as far as it went; the trouble was that out of many such half-truths he made a picture which as a whole was absurd; for often a half-truth is the most dangerous falsehood. It would be simply silly to be angry over "Martin Chuzzlewit"; on the contrary, read it, be amused by it, profit by it; and don't be misled by it. Keep a lively watch against the present-day Pograms and Bricks; but above all, distrust the man who would persuade you to feel downhearted about the country because of these same Pograms and Bricks, past or present. It would be foolish to ignore their existence, or the existence of anything else that is bad in our national life; but it would be even more foolish to ignore the vaster forces that tell for righteousness. Friends, there is every reason why we should fight whatever is evil in the present. But there is also every reason why we should feel a sturdy and confident hope for the future. There are many wrongs to right; there are many and powerful wrong-doers against whom to war; and it would be base to shrink from the contest, or to fail to wage it with a high, a resolute will. But I am sure that we shall win in the contest, because I know that the

heart of our people is sound. Our average men and women are good men and women—and this is true in all sections of our country and among all classes of our countrymen. There is no other nation on earth with such vast natural resources, or with such a high standard of living and of industrial efficiency among its workers. We have as a nation an era of unexampled prosperity ahead of us; we shall enjoy it, and our children will enjoy it after us. The trend of well-being in this country is upward, not downward; and this is the trend in the things of the soul as well as in the things of the body.

Government in its application is often a complicated and delicate work, but the principles of government are, after all, fairly simple. In a broad general way we should apply in the affairs of the national administration, which deals with the interests of all our eighty-odd millions of people, just the same rules that are necessary in getting on with our neighbors in our several neighborhoods; and the nation as a whole should show substantially the same qualities that we would expect an honorable man to show in dealing with his fellows. To illustrate this, consider for a moment two phases of governmental action.

First as to international affairs. Among your own neighbors, among your friends, what is the attitude you like to see a man take toward his fellows, the attitude you wish each of your sons to take when he goes out into the world? Is it not a combination of readiness and ability to hold his own if any one tries to wrong him, while at the same time showing careful regard not only for the rights but for the feelings of others? Of course it is! Of course the type of man whom we respect, whom we are proud of if he is a kinsman, whom

we are glad to have as a friend and neighbor, is the man who is no milksop, who is not afraid, who will not tolerate nor hesitate to resent insult or injury, but who himself never inflicts insult or injury, is kindly, good-natured, thoughtful of others' rights—in short, a good man to do business with or have live in the next house or have as a friend. On the other hand, the man who lacks any of those qualities is sure to be objectionable. If a man is afraid to hold his own, if he will submit tamely to wrong-doing, he is contemptible. If he is a bully, an oppressor, a man who wrongs or insults others, he is even worse and should be hunted out of the community. But, on the whole, the most contemptible position that can possibly be assumed by any man is that of blustering, of bragging, of insulting or wronging other people, while yet expecting to go through life unchallenged, and being always willing to back down and accept humiliation if readiness to make good is demanded.

All this is just as true of a nation as of an individual, and in dealing with other nations we should act as we expect a man who is both game and decent to act in private life. There are few things cheaper and more objectionable, whether on the part of the public man or of the private man, on the part of a writer or of a speaker, an individual or a group of individuals, than a course of conduct which is insulting or hurtful, whether in speech or act, to individuals of another nation or to the representatives of another nation or to another nation itself. But the policy becomes infamous from the standpoint of the interests of the United States when it is combined with the refusal to take those measures of preparation which can alone secure us from aggression on the part of others. The policy of "peace with in-

sult" is the very worst policy upon which it is possible to embark, whether for a nation or an individual. To be rich, unarmed, and yet insolent and aggressive, is to court well-nigh certain disaster. The only safe and honorable rule of foreign policy for the United States is to show itself courteous toward other nations, scrupulous not to infringe upon their rights, and yet able and ready to defend its own. This nation is now on terms of the most cordial good-will with all other nations. Let us make it a prime object of our policy to preserve these conditions. To do so it is necessary on the one hand to mete out a generous justice to all other peoples and show them courtesy and respect; and on the other hand, as we are yet a good way off from the millennium, to keep ourselves in such shape as to make it evident to all men that we desire peace because we think it is just and right and not from motives of weakness or timidity.

So much for foreign affairs. Now for a matter of domestic policy. Here in this country we have founded a great Federal democratic republic. It is a government by and for the people, and therefore a genuine democracy; and the theory of our Constitution is that each neighborhood shall be left to deal with the things that concern only itself and which it can most readily deal with; so that town, county, city, and State have their respective spheres of duty, while the nation deals with those matters which concern all of us, all of the people, no matter where we dwell. Our democracy is based upon the belief that each individual ought to have the largest measure of liberty compatible with securing the rights of other individuals, that the average citizen, the plain man whom we meet in daily life, is normally capable of taking care of his own affairs, and has no desire to wrong any one else; and yet that in the

interest of all there shall be sufficient power lodged somewhere to prevent wicked people from trampling the weak under foot for their own gain. Our constant endeavor is to make a good working compromise whereby we shall secure the full benefit of individual initiative and responsibility, while at the same time recognizing that it is the function of a wise government under modern conditions not merely to protect life and property, but to foster the social development of the people so far as this may be done by maintaining and promoting justice, honesty, and equal rights.

We believe in a real, not a sham, democracy. We believe in democracy as regards political rights, as regards education, and, finally, as regards industrial conditions. By democracy we understand securing, as far as it is humanly possible to secure it, equality of opportunity, equality of the conditions under which each man is to show the stuff that is in him and to achieve the measure of success to which his own force of mind and character entitle him. Religiously this means that each man is to have the right, unhindered by the State, to worship his Creator as his conscience dictates, granting freely to others the same freedom which he asks for himself. Politically we can be said substantially to have worked out our democratic ideals, and the same is true, thanks to the common schools, in educational matters.

But in industry there has not as yet been the governmental growth necessary in order to meet the tremendous changes brought about in industrial conditions by steam and electricity. It is not in accordance with our principles that literally despotic power should be put into the hands of a few men in the affairs of the industrial world. Our effort must be for a just and effective

plan of action which, while scrupulously safeguarding the rights of the men of wealth, shall yet, so far as is humanly possible, secure under the law to all men equality of opportunity to make a living. It is to the interest of all of us that the man of exceptional business capacity should be amply rewarded; and there is nothing inconsistent with this in our insistence that he shall not be guilty of bribery or extortion, and that the rights of the wage-worker and of the man of small means, who are themselves honest and hard-working, shall be scrupulously safeguarded.

This is a rapidly growing nation, on a new continent, and in an era of new, complex, and ever-shifting conditions. Often it is necessary to devise new methods of meeting these new conditions. We must regard the past, but we must not regard only the past. We must also think of the future; and while we must learn by experience, we cannot afford to pay heed merely to the teachings of experience. The great preacher Channing in his essay on "The Union" spoke with fine insight on this very point. In commenting on the New England statesman Cabot, whom he greatly admired, he said that nevertheless "he had too much of the wisdom of experience; he wanted what may be called the wisdom of hope." He then continued in words which have a peculiar fitness for the conditions of to-day: "We apprehend that it is possible to make experience too much our guide. There are seasons in human affairs, of inward and outward revolution, when new depths seem to be broken up in the soul, when new wants are unfolded in multitudes, and a new and undefined good is thirsted for. These are periods when the principles of experience need to be modified, when hope and trust and instinct claim a share with prudence in the gui-

dance of affairs, when in truth *to dare* is the highest wisdom."

These sentences should be carefully pondered by those men, often very good men, who forget that constructive change offers the best method of avoiding destructive change; that reform is the antidote to revolution; and that social reform is not the precursor but the preventive of Socialism.

3

LIBERTY UNDER THE LAW *

Ours is a government of liberty by, through, and under the law. No man is above it and no man is below it. The crime of cunning, the crime of greed, the crime of violence, are all equally crimes, and against them all alike the law must set its face. This is not and never shall be a government either of a plutocracy or of a mob. It is, it has been, and it will be, a government of the people; including alike the people of great wealth and of moderate wealth, the people who employ others, the people who are employed, the wage-worker, the lawyer, the mechanic, the banker, the farmer; including them all, protecting each and every one if he acts decently and squarely, and discriminating against any one of them, no matter from what class he comes, if he does not act squarely and fairly, if he does not obey the law. While all people are foolish if they violate or rail against the law—wicked as well as foolish, but all foolish—yet the most foolish man in this Republic is the man of wealth who complains because the law is administered with impartial justice against or for him. His folly is greater than the folly of any other man who so complains; for he lives and moves and has his being because the law does in fact protect him and his property.

We have the right to ask every decent American citizen to rally to the support of the law if it is ever broken against the interest of the rich man; and we have the

* Speech at Spokane, Wash., May 26, 1903.

same right to ask that rich man cheerfully and gladly to acquiesce in the enforcement against his seeming interest of the law, if it is the law. Incidentally, whether he acquiesces or not, the law will be enforced, and this whoever he may be, great or small, and at whichever end of the social scale he may be.

I ask that we see to it in our country that the line of division in the deeper matters of our citizenship be drawn, never between section and section, never between creed and creed, never, thrice never, between class and class; but that the line be drawn on the line of conduct, cutting through sections, cutting through creeds, cutting through classes; the line that divides the honest from the dishonest, the line that divides good citizenship from bad citizenship, the line that declares a man a good citizen only if, and always if, he acts in accordance with the immutable law of righteousness, which has been the same from the beginning of history to the present moment, and which will be the same from now until the end of recorded time.

4

THE PIONEER SPIRIT AND AMERICAN PROBLEMS *

The men who have made this great Republic what it is, and especially the men who have turned it into a continental commonwealth, have possessed in the highest degree the great virile virtues of strength, courage, energy, and undaunted and unwavering resolution. Their typical leaders—of whom Abraham Lincoln, though the most exceptional, was the most typical—have possessed keen intelligence, and a character not merely strong but lofty, a character exalted by the fact that great power was accompanied by a high and fine determination to use this great power for the common good, for the advancement of mankind. Such men were the builders of New England. As the country grew, such men were the pioneers that pushed the frontiers of civilization westward. A hundred years ago, when men spoke of the West, they meant the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. Fifty years ago the white man's West took in Minnesota, Iowa, and Kansas, and then skipped across to California and Oregon. The country of the great plains and the Rockies has grown up within my own lifetime. I myself saw and took part in the closing years of the pioneer period, and it was my great privilege to work side by side with the pioneers—the ranchmen, the miners, the cow-punchers, the mule-skinners, the bull-whackers—who actually opened up the country. I now travel in every comfort on railways across lands

* *The Outlook*, September 10, 1910.

which, when I first rode across them, were still the home of the Indian and the buffalo; and I find cities where one can obtain not merely comfort but luxury, in the places where, thirty years ago, there was not a building beyond a log hut or a 'dobe house. The men who did this work were engaged in the final stages of conquering the continent; and it was their privilege to do one of the great works of all time, to do their part in the performance of an epic feat in the history of the progress of mankind.

The pioneer days are over, save in a few places; and the more complex life of to-day calls for a greater variety of good qualities than were needed on the frontier. There is need at present to encourage the development of new abilities which can be brought to high perfection only by a kind of training useless in pioneer times; but these new qualities can only supplement, and never supplant, the old, homely virtues; the need for the special and distinctive pioneer virtues is as great as ever. In other words, as our civilization grows older and more complex, while it is true that we need new forms of trained ability, and need to develop men whose lives are devoted wholly to the pursuit of special objects, it is yet also true that we need a greater and not a less development of the fundamental frontier virtues.

These qualities, derived from the pioneers, were not confined to the pioneers. They are shown in the deeds of the nation; and especially in the two great feats which during the past decade have made the deepest impression abroad—the cruise of the battle fleet around the world, and the digging of the Panama Canal.

Now, there is no use of a nation claiming to be a great nation, unless it is prepared to play a great part. A nation such as ours cannot possibly play a great part

in international affairs, cannot expect to be treated as of weight in either the Atlantic or the Pacific, or to have its voice as to the Monroe Doctrine or the management of the Panama Canal heeded, unless it has a strong and thoroughly efficient navy. So far from this increase in naval strength representing on our part either a menace of aggression to weaker nations or a menace of war to stronger nations, it has told most powerfully for peace. No nation regarded the cruise as fraught with any menace of hostility to itself; and yet every nation accepted it as a proof that we were not only desirous ourselves to keep the peace, but able to prevent the peace being broken at our expense. No cruise in any way approaching it has ever been made by any fleet of any other power; and the best naval opinion abroad had been that no such feat was possible; that is, that no such cruise as that we actually made could be undertaken by a fleet of such size without innumerable breakdowns and accidents. The success of the cruise, performed as it was without a single accident, immeasurably raised the prestige, not only of our fleet, but of our nation; and was a distinct help to the cause of international peace.

As regards the Panama Canal, I really think that outside nations have a juster idea than our own people of the magnitude and success of the work. Six years ago last spring the American Government took possession of the Isthmus. The first two years were devoted to the sanitation of the Isthmus, to assembling the plant and working force, and providing quarters, food, and water-supplies. In all these points the success was extraordinary. From one of the plague-spots of the globe, one of the most unhealthy regions in the entire world, the Isthmus has been turned into a singularly healthy

place of abode. Active excavation on a large scale did not begin until January, 1907. Three years and a half have gone by since then, and three-fifths of the total excavation has already been accomplished. In 1908 and 1909 the monthly average of rock and earth removed was three million cubic yards, notwithstanding the fact that nine months of each year constituted a season of very heavy rainfall; but it is impossible to maintain such a ratio as the depth increases. Still, it is certain that such a rate can be maintained as will enable the workers to finish the excavation considerably in advance of the date fixed for opening the Canal —January 1, 1915. Indeed, I shall be surprised if the Canal cannot be opened six months or even a year in advance of the time set. The work has two great features: The Culebra Cut, which I have been considering, and the great dam at Gatun. The construction of the dam has advanced sufficiently to convince the engineers in charge of the work of its absolute stability and imperviousness. The engineer in charge has announced that all the concrete in all the locks will be in place two years hence.

This is a stupendous record of achievement. As a people we are rather fond of criticising ourselves, and sometimes with very great justice; but even the most pessimistic critic should sometimes think of what is to our credit. Among our assets of the past ten years will be placed the extraordinary ability, integrity, and success with which we have handled all the problems inherited as the result of the Spanish War; the way we have handled ourselves in the Philippines, in Cuba, in Porto Rico, in San Domingo, and in Panama. The cruise of the battle fleet around the world was a striking proof that we had made good with the navy; and

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what we have done at Panama represents the accomplishment of one of the great feats of the ages. It is a feat which reflects the highest honor upon our country; and our gratitude is due to every man who has taken an honorable part in any capacity in bringing it about.

The same qualities that have enabled Americans to conquer the wilderness, and to attempt tasks like the building of the Panama Canal and the sending of the battle fleet around the world, need to be applied now to our future problems; and these qualities, which include the power of self-government, together with the power of joining with others for mutual help, and, what is especially important, the feeling of comradeship, need to be applied in particular to that foremost of national problems, the problem of the preservation of our national resources.

The question has two sides. In the first place, the actual destruction, or, if this is not possible, at any rate the needless waste, of the natural resources must be stopped. In the second place, so far as possible, these resources must be kept for the use of the whole people, and not handed over for exploitation to single individuals or groups of individuals.

To preserve the general welfare, to see to it that the rights of the public are protected, and the liberty of the individual secured and encouraged as long as consistent with this welfare, and curbed when it becomes inconsistent therewith, it is necessary to invoke the aid of the government. There are points in which this governmental aid can best be rendered by the States; that is, where the exercise of States' rights helps to secure popular rights, and as to these I believe in States' rights. But there are large classes of cases where only the authority of the National Government will secure the

rights of the people, and where this is the case I am a convinced and a thoroughgoing believer in the rights of the National Government.

In this country, nowadays, capital has a national and not a State use. The great corporations which are managed and largely owned in the older States are those which are most in evidence in developing and using the mines and water-powers and forests of the new Territories and new States, from Alaska to Arizona. I have been genuinely amused during the past two months at having arguments presented to me on behalf of certain rich men from New York and Ohio, for instance, as to why Colorado and other Rocky Mountain States should manage their own water-power sites. Now I am sure that those men, according to their lights, are good citizens; but, naturally enough, their special interest obscures their sense of the public need; and as their object is to escape efficient control, they clamor to be put under the State instead of under the nation. If we are foolish enough to grant their requests, we shall have ourselves to blame when we wake up to find that we have permitted another privilege to intrench itself, and another portion of what should be kept for the public good to be turned over to individuals for purposes of private enrichment.

Our people have for many years proceeded upon the assumption that the nation controls the public land. The coal should be kept for the people, and those who mine it should pay part of the profit back to the people.

Remember also that many of the men who protest loudly against effective national action would be the first to turn round and protest against the State action if such action in its turn became effective, and would then unhesitatingly invoke the law to show that the

State had no constitutional power to act. I am a strong believer in efficient national action; and if there is one thing which I abhor more than another, it is the creation by legislative, by executive, or by judicial action of a neutral ground in which neither the State nor the nation has power, and which can serve as a place of refuge for the lawless man, and especially for the lawless man of great wealth, who can hire the best legal counsel to advise him how to keep his abiding-place equally distant from the uncertain frontier of both State and national power.

In dealing with future problems like this one of conservation, we need to keep in mind the lesson taught by the American pioneer. It is a lesson that is to be found in the fact that the pioneer is so good an American. He is an American, first and foremost. The man of the West throughout the successive stages of Western growth has always been one of the two or three most typical figures, indeed I am tempted to say the most typical figure, in American life; and no man can really understand our country, and appreciate what it really is and what it promises, unless he has the fullest and closest sympathy with the ideals and aspirations of the West.

The great lesson that all of us need to learn and to keep is the lesson that it is unimportant whether a man lives North or South, East or West, provided that he is genuinely and in good faith an American; that he feels every part of the United States as his own, and that he is honestly desirous to uphold the interests of all other Americans in whatever sections of the country they may dwell.

II

NATIONAL UNITY

5

THE REUNITED PEOPLE *

It is indeed to me a peculiar pleasure to have the chance of coming here to this exposition held in your old, your beautiful, your historic, city.

My mother's people were from Georgia; but before they came to Georgia, before the Revolution, in the days of colonial rule, they dwelt for nearly a century in South Carolina; and therefore I can claim your State as mine by inheritance no less than by the stronger and nobler right which makes each foot of American soil in a sense the property of all Americans.

Charleston is not only a typical Southern city; it is also a city whose history teems with events which link themselves to American history as a whole. In the early colonial days Charleston was the outpost of our people against the Spaniard in the South. In the days of the Revolution there occurred here some of the events which vitally affected the outcome of the struggle for independence, and which impressed themselves most deeply upon the popular mind. It was here that the tremendous, terrible drama of the Civil War opened.

With delicate and thoughtful courtesy you originally asked me to come to this exposition on the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. The invitation not only showed a fine generosity and manliness in you, my hosts, but it also emphasized as hardly anything else could have emphasized how completely we are now a united people. The wounds left by the great Civil War, incomparably

* Address at the Charleston Exposition, Charleston, S. C., April 9, 1902.

the greatest war of modern times, have healed; and its memories are now priceless heritages of honor alike to the North and to the South. The devotion, the self-sacrifice, the steadfast resolution and lofty daring, the high devotion to the right as each man saw it, whether Northerner or Southerner—all these qualities of the men and women of the early sixties now shine luminous and brilliant before our eyes, while the mists of anger and hatred that once dimmed them have passed away forever.

All of us, North and South, can glory alike in the valor of the men who wore the blue and of the men who wore the gray. Those were iron times, and only iron men could fight to its terrible finish the giant struggle between the hosts of Grant and Lee, the struggle that came to an end thirty-seven years ago this very day. To us of the present day, and to our children and children's children, the valiant deeds, the high endeavor, and abnegation of self shown in that struggle by those who took part therein will remain for evermore to mark the level to which we in our turn must rise whenever the hour of the nation's need may come.

When four years ago this nation was compelled to face a foreign foe, the completeness of the reunion became instantly and strikingly evident. The war was not one which called for the exercise of more than an insignificant fraction of our strength, and the strain put upon us was slight indeed compared with the results. But it was a satisfactory thing to see the way in which the sons of the soldier of the Union and the soldier of the Confederacy leaped eagerly forward, emulous to show in brotherly rivalry the qualities which had won renown for their fathers, the men of the great war. It was my good fortune to serve under an ex-Confederate

general, gallant old Joe Wheeler, who commanded the cavalry division at Santiago.

In my regiment there were certainly as many men whose fathers had served in the Southern, as there were men whose fathers had served in the Northern, army. Among the captains there was opportunity to promote but one to field rank. The man who was singled out for this promotion because of conspicuous gallantry in the field was the son of a Confederate general and was himself a citizen of this, the Palmetto State; and no American officer could wish to march to battle beside a more loyal, gallant, and absolutely fearless comrade than my former captain and major, your fellow citizen, Micah Jenkins.

A few months ago, owing to the enforced absence of the governor of the Philippines, it became necessary to nominate a vice-governor to take his place—one of the most important places in our government at this time. I nominated as vice-governor an ex-Confederate, General Luke Wright, of Tennessee. It is therefore an ex-Confederate who now stands as the exponent of this government and this people in that great group of islands in the eastern seas over which the American flag floats. General Wright has taken a leading part in the work of steadily bringing order and peace out of the bloody chaos in which we found the islands. He is now taking a leading part not merely in upholding the honor of the flag by making it respected as the symbol of our power, but still more in upholding its honor by unwearied labor for the establishment of ordered liberty —of law-creating, law-abiding civil government—under its folds.

The progress which has been made under General Wright and those like him has been indeed marvellous.

In fact, a letter of the general's the other day seemed to show that he considered there was far more warfare about the Philippines in this country than there was warfare in the Philippines themselves! It is an added proof of the completeness of the reunion of our country that one of the foremost men who have been instrumental in driving forward the great work for civilization and humanity in the Philippines has been a man who in the Civil War fought with distinction in a uniform of Confederate gray.

If ever the need comes in the future the past has made abundantly evident the fact that from this time on Northerner and Southerner will in war know only the generous desire to strive how each can do the more effective service for the flag of our common country. The same thing is true in the endless work of peace, the never-ending work of building and keeping the marvellous fabric of our industrial prosperity. The upbuilding of any part of our country is a benefit to the whole, and every such effort as this to stimulate the resources and industry of a particular section is entitled to the heartiest support from every quarter of the Union. Thoroughly good national work can be done only if each of us works hard for himself, and at the same time keeps constantly in mind that he must work in conjunction with others.

You have made a particular effort in your exhibition to get into touch with the West Indies. This is wise. The events of the last four years have shown us that the West Indies and the Isthmus must in the future occupy a far larger place in our national policy than in the past. This is proved by the negotiations for the purchase of the Danish Islands, the acquisition of Porto Rico, the preparation for building an Isthmian Canal,

and, finally, by the changed relations which these years have produced between us and Cuba. As a nation we have especial right to take honest pride in what we have done for Cuba. Our critics abroad and at home have insisted that we never intended to leave the island. But on the 20th of next month Cuba becomes a free republic, and we turn over to the islanders the control of their own government. It would be very difficult to find a parallel in the conduct of any other great State that has occupied such a position as ours. We have kept our word and done our duty, just as an honest individual in private life keeps his word and does his duty.

This exposition is rendered possible because of the period of industrial prosperity through which we are passing. While material well-being is never all-sufficient to the life of a nation, yet it is the merest truism to say that its absence means ruin. We need to build a higher life upon it as a foundation; but we can build little indeed unless this foundation of prosperity is deep and broad. The well-being which we are now enjoying can be secured only through general business prosperity, and such prosperity is conditioned upon the energy and hard work, the sanity and the mutual respect, of all classes of capitalists, large and small, of wage-workers of every degree.

Every industrial exposition of this type necessarily calls up the thought of the complex social and economic questions which are involved in our present industrial system. Our astounding material prosperity, the sweep and rush rather than the mere march of our progressive material development, have brought grave troubles in their train. We cannot afford to blink these troubles, any more than because of them we can afford to accept as true the gloomy forebodings of the prophets of evil.

There are great problems before us. They are not insoluble, but they can be solved only if we approach them in a spirit of resolute fearlessness, of common sense, and of honest intention to do fair and equal justice to all men alike. Above all, the administration of the government, the enforcement of the laws, must be fair and honest. The laws are not to be administered either in the interest of the poor man or the interest of the rich man. They are simply to be administered justly; in the interest of justice to each man be he rich or be he poor—giving immunity to no violator, whatever form the violation may assume. Such is the obligation which every public servant takes, and to it he must be true under penalty of forfeiting the respect both of himself and of his fellows.

And now, my fellow countrymen, in closing I am going to paraphrase something said by Governor Aycock last night. I have dwelt to-day upon the fact that we are indeed a reunited people; that we are indeed and forever one people. The time was when one could not have made that statement with truth; now it can be truthfully said. There was a time when it was necessary to keep saying it, because it was already true, and because the assertion made it more true; but the time is at hand, I think the time has come, when it is not necessary to say it again. Proud of the South? Of course we are proud of the South; not only Southerners, but Northerners are proud of the South. Proud of your great deeds? Of course I am proud of your great deeds, for you are my people. I thank you from my heart for the welcome you have given me, and I assure you that few experiences in my life have been more pleasant than the experiences of these two days that I have spent among you.

6

NORTH AND SOUTH*

I TRUST I need hardly say how great is my pleasure at speaking in this historic capital of your historic State —the State than which no other has contributed a larger proportion to the leadership of the nation; for on the honor-roll of those American worthies whose greatness is not only for the age but for all time, not only for one nation but for all the world, on this honor-roll Virginia's name stands above all others. And in greeting all of you, I know that no one will grudge my saying a special word of acknowledgment to the veterans of the Civil War. A man would indeed be but a poor American who could without a thrill witness the way in which, in city after city in the North as in the South, on every public occasion, the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray now march and stand shoulder to shoulder, giving tangible proof that we are all now in fact as well as in name a reunited people, a people infinitely richer because of the priceless memories left to all Americans by you men who fought in the great war. Last Memorial Day I spoke in Brooklyn, at the unveiling of the statue of a Northern general, under the auspices of the Grand Army of the Republic, and that great audience cheered every allusion to the valor and self-devotion of the men who followed Lee as heartily as they cheered every allusion to the valor and self-devotion of the men who followed Grant. The wounds left by the great Civil War have

* Speech at Capitol Square, Richmond, Va., October 18, 1905.

long healed, but its memories remain. Think of it, oh, my countrymen, think of the good fortune that is ours! —that whereas every other war of modern times has left feelings of rancor and bitterness to keep asunder the combatants, our great war has left to the sons and daughters of the men who fought, on whichever side they fought, the same right to feel the keenest pride in the great deeds alike of the men who fought on one side and of the men who fought on the other. The proud self-sacrifice, the resolute and daring courage, the high and steadfast devotion to the right as each man saw it, whether Northerner or Southerner, these qualities render all Americans forever the debtors of those who in the dark days from '61 to '65 proved their truth by their endeavor. Here around Richmond, here in your own State, there lies battle-field after battle-field, rendered forever memorable by the men who counted death as but a little thing when weighed in the balance against doing their duty as it was given them to see it. These men have left us of the younger generation not merely the memory of what they did in war, but of what they did in peace. Foreign observers predicted that when such a great war closed it would be impossible for the hundreds of thousands of combatants to return to the paths of peace. They predicted ceaseless disorder, wild turbulence, the alternation of anarchy and despotism. But the good sense and self-restraint of the average American citizen falsified these prophecies. The great armies disbanded and the private in the ranks, like the officer who had commanded him, went back to take up the threads of his life where he had dropped them when the call to arms came. It was a wonderful, a marvellous thing, in a country consecrated to peace with but an infinitesimal regular army, to develop so

quickly the huge hosts which confronted one another between the James and the Potomac and along the Mississippi and its tributaries. But it was an even more wonderful, an even more marvellous thing, how these great hosts, once their work done, resolved themselves into the general fabric of the nation.

Great though the meed of praise is which is due the South for the soldierly valor her sons displayed during the four years of war, I think that even greater praise is due to her for what her people have accomplished in the forty years of peace which followed. For forty years the South has made not merely a courageous, but at times a desperate struggle, as she has striven for moral and material well-being. Her success has been extraordinary, and all citizens of our common country should feel joy and pride in it; for any great deed done or any fine qualities shown by one group of Americans of necessity reflects credit upon all Americans. Only a heroic people could have battled successfully against the conditions with which the people of the South found themselves face to face at the end of the Civil War. There had been utter destruction and disaster, and wholly new business and social problems had to be faced with the scantiest means. The economic and political fabric had to be readjusted in the midst of dire want, of grinding poverty. The future of the broken, war-swept South seemed beyond hope, and if her sons and daughters had been of weaker fibre there would in very truth have been no hope. But the men and the sons of the men who had faced with unfaltering front every alternation of good and evil fortune from Manassas to Appomattox, and the women, their wives and mothers, whose courage and endurance had reached an even higher heroic level—these men and

these women set themselves undauntedly to the great task before them. For twenty years the struggle was hard and at times doubtful. Then the splendid qualities of your manhood and womanhood told, as they were bound to tell, and the wealth of your extraordinary natural resources began to be shown. Now the teeming riches of mine and field and factory attest the prosperity of those who are all the stronger because of the trials and struggles through which this prosperity has come. You stand loyally to your traditions and memories; you also stand loyally for our great common country of to-day and for our common flag, which symbolizes all that is brightest and most hopeful for the future of mankind; you face the new age in the spirit of the age. Alike in your material and in your spiritual and intellectual development you stand abreast of the foremost in the world's progress.

And now, my fellow citizens, my fellow Americans, exactly as all of us, whether we live in the East or the West, in the North or the South, have the right merely as Americans to feel pride in every great deed done by any American in the past, and exactly as we are knit together by this common heritage of memories, so we are knit together, by the bond of our common duties in the present, our common interest in the future. Many and great problems lie before us. If we treat the mighty memories of the past merely as excuses for sitting lazily down in the present, or for standing aside from the rough work of the world, then these memories will prove a curse instead of a blessing. But if we treat them as I believe we shall treat them, not as excuses for inaction, but as incentives to make us show that we are worthy of our fathers and of our fathers' fathers, then in truth the deeds of the past will not have been

wasted, for they shall bring forth fruit a hundredfold in the present generation. We of this nation, we, the citizens of this mighty and wonderful Republic, stretching across a continent between the two greatest oceans, enjoy extraordinary privileges, and as our opportunity is great, therefore our responsibility is great. We have duties to perform both abroad and at home, and we cannot shirk either set of duties and fully retain our self-respect.

7

AMERICANS OF GERMAN ORIGIN*

SINCE the beginning of our country's history many different race strains have entered to make up the composite American. Out of and from each we have gained something for our national character; to each we owe something special for what it has contributed to us as a people.

It is almost exactly two hundred and twenty years ago that the first marked immigration from Germany to what were then the colonies in this western hemisphere began. As is inevitable with any pioneers those pioneers of the German race on this side of the ocean had to encounter bitter privation, had to struggle against want in many forms; had to meet and overcome hardship; for the people that go forth to seek their well-being in strange lands must inevitably be ready to pay as the price of success the expenditure of all that there is in them to overcome the obstacles in their way. It was some fifty years later that the great tide of German immigration in colonial times began to flow hither; one of the leaders in it being Muhlenburg, the founder of a family which has contributed to military and civil life some of the worthiest figures in American history. The first of the famous Speakers of the House of Representatives was Muhlenburg, of German ancestry.

Baltimore is a centre in that region of our land where from the earliest days there was that intermingling of

* Speech at the Saengerfest, Baltimore, Md., June 15, 1903.

ethnic strains which finally went to the making of the Americans who in '76 made this country a nation. Within the boundaries of this State was founded that colony which first of all on this Western continent saw a government modelled upon these principles of religious freedom and toleration which we now regard as the birthright of all American citizens.

Throughout our career of development the German immigration to this country went steadily onward, and they who came here, and their sons and grandsons, played an ever-increasing part in the history of our people—a part that culminated in the Civil War; for every lover of the Union must ever bear in mind what was done in this Commonwealth as in the Commonwealth of Missouri, by the folk of German birth or origin who served so loyally the flag that was theirs by inheritance or adoption.

And here in this city I would be unwilling to let an occasion like this pass without recalling the part of incalculable importance played by the members of the Turn Verein of Baltimore in saving Baltimore to the Union. In congratulating every man here to whom it was given to fight in the great Civil War, in congratulating the men of Baltimore who in those dark days followed the lead of Sigel, Rapp, and Blumenberg in playing well and nobly their part in upholding the hands of Abraham Lincoln, I congratulate them thrice over because it was given to them to fight in a contest where the victors and the vanquished alike have bequeathed to us as a heritage the memory of the valor and the loyalty to the right as to each it was given to see the right, shown alike by the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray, in the great days of the Civil War. Terrible though that contest was, in

which with blood and tears and sweat, with the suffering of men and the sorrow of women, the generation of Lincoln and Grant purchased for us peace and union, it paid for itself over and over again by what it left to us—not merely a reunited land, not merely a land in which freedom was a fact instead of only a boast, but above all the right as Americans to feel within us the lift toward lofty things which must come to those who know that their fathers and forefathers have in the supreme crisis entirely shown themselves fit to rank among the men of all time.

I want to say just one thing more. I feel that the men of this association and of kindred associations are not only adding to the common fund of pleasure, but are doing genuine missionary work of a needed kind when they hold such a festival as this. I wish that everywhere in our country we could see clubs and associations including all our citizens, similar in character to that society which has furnished the reason for the assembling of this great audience to-night. No greater contribution to American social life could possibly be made than by instilling into it the capacity for Gemüthlichkeit. No greater good can come to our people than to encourage in them a capacity for enjoyment which shall discriminate sharply between what is vicious and what is pleasant. Nothing can add more to our capacity for healthy social enjoyment than, by force of example no less than by precept, to encourage the formation of societies which by their cultivation of music, vocal and instrumental, give great lift to the artistic side, the æsthetic side, of our nature; and especially is that true when we remember that no man is going to go very far wrong if he belongs to a society where he can take his wife with him to enjoy it.

8

AMERICANS OF IRISH ORIGIN *

It is, of course, a matter of peculiar pleasure to me to come to my own city and to meet so many men with whom I have been associated for the last quarter of a century—for it was nearly that time ago, Judge, that you and I first met when we were both in the New York legislature together—and to be greeted by you as you have greeted me to-night. I wish to express at the outset my special sense of obligation—and I know that the rest of you will not grudge my expressing it—my special sense of obligation to Colonel Duffy and the officers and men of the Sixty-ninth, who were my escort to-day. I shall write to Colonel Duffy later, to give him formal notice, and to ask him to give the regiment formal notice, of my appreciation, but I wish to express it thus publicly to-night.

And now, before I begin my speech proper, I wish to read a telegram which has been handed to me as a sop to certain of my well-known prejudices. It has been sent up to me by one of the members here to-night, who when we came into the dining-room was only a father, but who at this moment is a grandfather. This telegram runs as follows:

"Peter McDonnell, Friendly Sons' Dinner, Delmonico's. Patrick just arrived. Tired after parade. Sends his regards to the President. He is the first on

* Address at the dinner of the Society of Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, New York City, March 17, 1905.

record since the President attended the Friendly Sons' dinner. He is a fine singer. No race suicide in this family. Weighs eight pounds, looks like the whole family. The mother is doing well. Robert McDonnell."

And, gentlemen, I want you to join with me in drinking the health of Patrick, Peter, Robert, and above all, of the best of the whole outfit, Mrs. McDonnell, the mother.

Now we will pass from the present to the past. The judge has spoken to you of the formation of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in Philadelphia, in colonial days. It was natural that it should have started in Philadelphia and at the time of which the judge spoke. For we must not forget, in dealing with our history as a nation, that long before the outbreak of the Revolution there had begun on the soil of the colonies, which afterward became the United States, that mixture of races which has been and still is one of the most important features in our history as a people. At the time, early in the eighteenth century, when the immigrants from Ireland first began to come in numbers to this country, the race elements were still imperfectly fused, and for some time the then new Irish strain was clearly distinguishable from the others. And there was one peculiarity about these immigrants who came from Ireland to the colonies in the eighteenth century which has never been paralleled in the case of any other immigrants whatsoever. In all other cases since the very first settlements, the pushing westward of the frontier, the conquest of the continent has been due primarily to the men of native birth. But the immigrants from Ireland in the eighteenth century, and those alone, pushed boldly through the settled districts

and planted themselves as the advance-guard of the conquering civilization on the borders of the Indian-haunted wilderness.

This was true in northern Maine and New Hampshire, in western Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas alike. And, inasmuch as Philadelphia was the largest city which was in touch with that extreme Western frontier, it was most natural that the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick should first be formed in that city. We had, I wish to say, in New York, frequently during colonial days, dinners of societies of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, but apparently the society in New York did not take a permanent form; but we frequently had dinners on March 17 of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick here in New York City even in colonial days.

By the time the Revolution had broken out, the men of different race strains had begun to fuse together, and the Irish among those strains furnished their full share of leadership in the struggle. Among their number was Commodore John Barry, one of the two or three officers to whom our infant navy owed most. I had the honor in the last session of Congress to recommend that a monument to Barry should be erected in Washington. I heartily believe in economy, but I think we can afford to let up enough to let that monument through.

On land, the men of this strain furnished generals like Montgomery, who fell so gloriously at Quebec, and like Sullivan, the conqueror of the Iroquois, who came of a New Hampshire family, which furnished governors to three New England States. In her old age, the mother, Mrs. Sullivan, used to say that she had known what it was to work hard in the fields carrying in her arms the governor of Massachusetts, with the gover-

nors of New Hampshire and Vermont tagging on at her skirts.

I have spoken of the generals. Now for the rank and file. The Continental troops of the hardest fighter among Washington's generals, Mad Anthony Wayne, were recruited so largely from this stock that Light-horse Harry Lee, of Virginia, the father of the great general, Robert Lee, always referred to them as "The Line of Ireland." Nor must we forget that of this same stock there was a boy during the days of the Revolution who afterward became the chief American general of his time, and, as President, one of the public men who left his impress most deeply upon our nation, Andrew Jackson, the victor of New Orleans.

The Revolution was the first great crisis of our history. The Civil War was the second. And in this second great crisis the part played by the men of Irish birth or parentage was no less striking than it had been in the Revolution. Among the three or four great generals who led the Northern army in the war, stood Phil Sheridan. Some of those whom I am now addressing served in that immortal brigade which on the fatal day of Fredericksburg left its dead closest to the stone wall which marked the limit that could not be overpassed even by the highest valor.

And, gentlemen, it was my good fortune when it befell me to serve as a regimental commander in a very small war—but all the war there was—to have under me more than one of the sons of those who served in Meagher's brigade. Among them was one of my two best captains, both of whom were killed, Allen Capron, and this man Bucky O'Neill. Bucky O'Neill was killed at Santiago, showing the same absolute indifference to life, the same courage, the same gallant readiness to

sacrifice everything on the altar of an ideal, that his father had shown when he died in Meagher's brigade in the Civil War.

The people who have come to this country from Ireland have contributed to the stock of our common citizenship qualities which are essential to the welfare of every great nation. They are a masterful race of rugged character, a race the qualities of whose womanhood have become proverbial, while its men have the elemental, the indispensable virtues of working hard in time of peace and fighting hard in time of war.

And I want to say here, as I have said and shall say again elsewhere, as I shall say again and again, that we must never forget that no amount of material wealth, no amount of intellect, no artistic or scientific growth can avail anything to the nation which loses the elemental virtues. If the average man cannot work and fight, the race is in a poor way; and it will not have, because it will not deserve, the respect of any one.

Let us avoid always, either as individuals or as a nation, brawling, speaking discourteously or acting offensively toward others, but let us make it evident that we wish peace, not because we are weak, but because we think it right; and that while we do not intend to wrong any one, we are perfectly competent to hold our own if any one wrongs us. There has never been a time in this country when it has not been true of the average American of Irish birth or parentage, that he came up to this standard, able to work and able to fight at need.

But the men of Irish birth or of Irish descent have been far more than soldiers—I will not say more than, but much in addition to, soldiers. In every walk in life in this country men of this blood have stood and now stand pre-eminent, not only as soldiers but as

statesmen, on the bench, at the bar, and in business. They are doing their full share toward the artistic and literary development of the country.

And right here let me make a special plea to you, to this society and kindred societies: We Americans take a just pride in the development of our great universities, and more and more we are seeking to provide for creative and original work in these universities. I hope that an earnest effort will be made to endow chairs in American universities for the study of Celtic literature and for research in Celtic antiquities. It is only of recent years that the extraordinary wealth and beauty of the old Celtic Sagas have been fully appreciated, and we of America, who have so large a Celtic strain in our blood, cannot afford to be behindhand in the work of adding to modern scholarship by bringing within its ken the great Celtic literature of the past.

My fellow countrymen, I have spoken to-night especially of what has been done for this nation of ours by men of Irish blood. But, after all, in speaking to you, or, to any other body of my fellow citizens, no matter from what Old World country they themselves or their forefathers may have come, the great thing is to remember that we are all of us Americans. Let us keep our pride in the stocks from which we have sprung, but let us show that pride, not by holding aloof from one another, least of all by preserving the Old World jealousies and bitternesses, but by joining in a spirit of generous rivalry to see which can do most for our great common country.

Americanism is not a matter of creed or birthplace or descent. That man is the best American who has in him the American spirit, the American soul. Such a man fears not the strong and harms not the weak.

He scorns what is base or cruel or dishonest. He looks beyond the accidents of occupation or social condition and hails each of his fellow citizens as his brother, asking nothing save that each shall treat the other on his worth as a man, and that they shall all join together to do what in them lies for the uplifting of this mighty and vigorous people. In our veins runs the blood of many an Old World nation. We are kin to each of these nations and yet identical with none.

Our policy should be one of cordial friendship for them all, and yet we should keep ever before our eyes the fact that we are ourselves a separate people with our own ideals and standards, and destined, whether for better or for worse, to work out a wholly new national type. The fate of the twentieth century will in no small degree—I ask you to think of this from the standpoint of the world—the fate of the twentieth century as it bears on the world will in no small degree depend upon the type of citizenship developed on this continent. Surely such a thought must thrill us with the resolute purpose so to bear ourselves that the name American shall stand as the symbol of just, generous, and fearless treatment of all men and all nations. Let us be true to ourselves, for we cannot then be false to any man.

9

RELIGION AND POLITICS *

My Dear Sir:

I have received your letter running in part as follows:

"While it is claimed universally that religion should not enter into politics, yet there is no denying that it does, and the mass of voters that are not Catholics will not support a man for any office, especially for President of the United States, who is a Roman Catholic.

"Since Taft has been nominated for President by the Republican party, it is being circulated and is constantly urged as a reason for not voting for Taft that he is an infidel (Unitarian) and his wife and brother Roman Catholics. . . . If his feelings are in sympathy with the Roman Catholic Church on account of his wife and brother being Catholics, that would be objectionable to a sufficient number of voters to defeat him. On the other hand, if he is an infidel, that would be sure to mean defeat. . . . I am writing this letter for the sole purpose of giving Mr. Taft an opportunity to let the world know what his religious belief is."

I received many such letters as yours during the campaign, expressing dissatisfaction with Mr. Taft on religious grounds; some of them on the ground that he was a Unitarian, and others on the ground that he was suspected to be in sympathy with Catholics. I did not answer any of these letters during the campaign because I regarded it as an outrage even to agitate such a question as a man's religious conviction, with the pur-

* Letter addressed to J. C. Martin, and dated November 6, 1908.

pose of influencing a political election. But now that the campaign is over, when there is opportunity for men calmly to consider whither such propositions as those you make in your letter would lead, I wish to invite them to consider them, and I have selected your letter to answer because you advance both the objections commonly urged against Mr. Taft, namely: that he is a Unitarian, and also that he is suspected of sympathy with the Catholics.

You ask that Mr. Taft shall "let the world know what his religious belief is." This is purely his own private concern; it is a matter between him and his Maker, a matter for his own conscience; and to require it to be made public under penalty of political discrimination is to negative the first principles of our government, which guarantee complete religious liberty, and the right to each to act in religious affairs as his own conscience dictates. Mr. Taft never asked my advice in the matter, but if he had asked it, I should have emphatically advised him against thus stating publicly his religious belief. The demand for a statement of a candidate's religious belief can have no meaning except that there may be discrimination for or against him because of that belief. Discrimination against the holder of one faith means retaliatory discrimination against men of other faiths. The inevitable result of entering upon such a practice would be an abandonment of our real freedom of conscience and a reversion to the dreadful conditions of religious dissension which in so many lands have proved fatal to true liberty, to true religion, and to all advance in civilization.

To discriminate against a thoroughly upright citizen because he belongs to some particular church, or because, like Abraham Lincoln, he has not avowed his

allegiance to any church, is an outrage against that liberty of conscience which is one of the foundations of American life. You are entitled to know whether a man seeking your suffrages is a man of clean and upright life, honorable in all of his dealings with his fellows, and fit by qualification and purpose to do well in the great office for which he is a candidate; but you are not entitled to know matters which lie purely between himself and his Maker. If it is proper or legitimate to oppose a man for being a Unitarian, as was John Quincy Adams, for instance, as is the Reverend Edward Everett Hale, at the present moment chaplain of the Senate, and an American of whose life all good Americans are proud—then it would be equally proper to support or oppose a man because of his views on justification by faith, or the method of administering the sacrament, or the gospel of salvation by works. If you once enter on such a career there is absolutely no limit at which you can legitimately stop.

So much for your objections to Mr. Taft because he is a Unitarian. Now, for your objections to him because you think his wife and brother to be Roman Catholics. As it happens, they are not; but if they were, or if he were a Roman Catholic himself, it ought not to affect in the slightest degree any man's supporting him for the position of President. You say that "the mass of the voters that are not Catholics will not support a man for any office, especially for President of the United States, who is a Roman Catholic." I believe that when you say this you foully slander your fellow countrymen. I do not for one moment believe that the mass of our fellow citizens, or that any considerable number of our fellow citizens, can be influenced by such narrow bigotry as to refuse to vote for any thoroughly upright and fit

man because he happens to have a particular religious creed. Such a consideration should never be treated as a reason for either supporting or opposing a candidate for a political office. Are you aware that there are several States in this Union where the majority of the people are now Catholics? I should reprobate in the severest terms the Catholics who in those States (or in any other States) refused to vote for the most fit man because he happened to be a Protestant; and my condemnation would be exactly as severe for Protestants who, under reversed circumstances, refused to vote for a Catholic. In public life I am happy to say that I have known many men who were elected, and constantly re-elected, to office in districts where the great majority of their constituents were of a different religious belief. I know Catholics who have for many years represented constituencies mainly Protestant, and Protestants who have for many years represented constituencies mainly Catholic; and among the congressmen whom I knew particularly well was one man of Jewish faith who represented a district in which there were hardly any Jews at all. All of these men by their very existence in political life refute the slander you have uttered against your fellow Americans.

I believe that this Republic will endure for many centuries. If so there will doubtless be among its Presidents Protestants and Catholics, and, very probably at some time, Jews. I have consistently tried while President to act in relation to my fellow Americans of Catholic faith as I hope that any future President who happens to be a Catholic will act toward his fellow Americans of Protestant faith. Had I followed any other course I should have felt that I was unfit to represent the American people.

In my Cabinet at the present moment there sit side by side Catholic and Protestant, Christian and Jew, each man chosen because in my belief he is peculiarly fit to exercise on behalf of all our people the duties of the office to which I have appointed him. In no case does the man's religious belief in any way influence his discharge of his duties, save as it makes him more eager to act justly and uprightly in his relations to all men. The same principles that have obtained in appointing the members of my Cabinet, the highest officials under me, the officials to whom is intrusted the work of carrying out all the important policies of my administration, are the principles upon which all good Americans should act in choosing, whether by election or appointment, the men to fill any office from the highest to the lowest in the land.

Yours truly,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

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NATIONAL UNITY VERSUS CLASS CLEAVAGE *

In speaking on Labor Day at the annual fair of the New York State Agricultural Association, it is natural to keep especially in mind the two bodies who compose the majority of our people and upon whose welfare depends the welfare of the entire State. If circumstances are such that thrift, energy, industry, and forethought enable the farmer, the tiller of the soil, on the one hand, and the wage-worker, on the other, to keep themselves, their wives, and their children in reasonable comfort, then the State is well off, and we can be assured that the other classes in the community will likewise prosper. On the other hand, if there is in the long run a lack of prosperity among the two classes named, then all other prosperity is sure to be more seeming than real. It has been our profound good fortune as a nation that hitherto, disregarding exceptional periods of depression and the normal and inevitable fluctuations, there has been on the whole from the beginning of our government to the present day a progressive betterment alike in the condition of the tiller of the soil and in the condition of the man who, by his manual skill and labor, supports himself and his family, and endeavors to bring up his children so that they may be at least as well off as, and if possible better off than, he himself has been. There are, of course, exceptions, but as a whole the standard of living among the farmers of our country has risen from generation to generation, and the wealth repre-

* Address at the State Fair, Syracuse, N. Y., September 7, 1903.

sented on the farms has steadily increased, while the wages of labor have likewise risen, both as regards the actual money paid and as regards the purchasing power which that money represents.

Side by side with this increase in the prosperity of the wage-worker and the tiller of the soil has gone on a great increase in prosperity among the business men and among certain classes of professional men; and the prosperity of these men has been partly the cause and partly the consequence of the prosperity of farmer and wage-worker. It cannot be too often repeated that in this country, in the long run, we all of us tend to go up or go down together. If the average of well-being is high, it means that the average wage-worker, the average farmer, and the average business man are all alike well off. If the average shrinks, there is not one of these classes which will not feel the shrinkage. Of course, there are always some men who are not affected by good times, just as there are some men who are not affected by bad times. But speaking broadly, it is true that if prosperity comes all of us tend to share more or less therein, and that if adversity comes each of us, to a greater or less extent, feels the tension. Unfortunately, in this world the innocent frequently find themselves obliged to pay some of the penalty for the misdeeds of the guilty; and so if hard times come, whether they be due to our own fault or to our misfortune, whether they be due to some burst of speculative frenzy that has caused a portion of the business world to lose its head—a loss which no legislation can possibly supply—or whether they be due to any lack of wisdom in a portion of the world of labor—in each case the trouble once started is felt more or less in every walk of life.

It is all-essential to the continuance of our healthy

national life that we should recognize this community of interest among our people. The welfare of each of us is dependent fundamentally upon the welfare of all of us, and therefore in public life that man is the best representative of each of us who seeks to do good to each by doing good to all; in other words, whose endeavor it is, not to represent any special class and promote merely that class's selfish interests, but to represent all true and honest men of all sections and all classes and to work for their interests by working for our common country.

We can keep our government on a sane and healthy basis, we can make and keep our social system what it should be, only on condition of judging each man, not as a member of a class, but on his worth as a man. It is an infamous thing in our American life, and fundamentally treacherous to our institutions, to apply to any man any test save that of his personal worth, or to draw between two sets of men any distinction save the distinction of conduct, the distinction that marks off those who do well and wisely from those who do ill and foolishly. There are good citizens and bad citizens in every class as in every locality, and the attitude of decent people toward great public and social questions should be determined, not by the accidental questions of employment or locality, but by those deep-set principles which represent the innermost souls of men.

The failure in public and in private life thus to treat each man on his own merits, the recognition of this government as being either for the poor as such or for the rich as such, would prove fatal to our Republic, as such failure and such recognition have always proved fatal in the past to other republics. A healthy republican government must rest upon individuals, not upon

classes or sections. As soon as it becomes government by a class or by a section it departs from the old American ideal.

It is, of course, the merest truism to say that free institutions are of avail only to people who possess the high and peculiar characteristics needed to take advantage of such institutions. The century that has just closed has witnessed many and lamentable instances in which people have seized a government free in form, or have had it bestowed upon them, and yet have permitted it under the forms of liberty to become some species of despotism or anarchy, because they did not have in them the power to make this seeming liberty one of deed instead of one merely of word. Under such circumstances the seeming liberty may be supplanted by a tyranny or despotism in the first place, or it may reach the road of despotism by the path of license and anarchy. It matters but little which road is taken. In either case the same goal is reached. People show themselves just as unfit for liberty whether they submit to anarchy or to tyranny; and class government, whether it be the government of a plutocracy or the government of a mob, is equally incompatible with the principles established in the days of Washington and perpetuated in the days of Lincoln.

Many qualities are needed by a people which would preserve the power of self-government in fact as well as in name. Among these qualities are forethought, shrewdness, self-restraint, the courage which refuses to abandon one's own rights, and the disinterested and kindly good sense which enables one to do justice to the rights of others. Lack of strength and lack of courage unfit men for self-government on the one hand; and on the other, brutal arrogance, envy, in short, any mani-

festation of the spirit of selfish disregard, whether of one's own duties or of the rights of others, are equally fatal.

In the history of mankind many republics have risen, have flourished for a less or greater time, and then have fallen because their citizens lost the power of governing themselves and thereby of governing their state; and in no way has this loss of power been so often and so clearly shown as in the tendency to turn the government into a government primarily for the benefit of one class instead of a government for the benefit of the people as a whole.

Again and again in the republics of ancient Greece, in those of mediæval Italy and mediæval Flanders, this tendency was shown, and wherever the tendency became a habit it invariably and inevitably proved fatal to the state. In the final result it mattered not one whit whether the movement was in favor of one class or of another. The outcome was equally fatal, whether the country fell into the hands of a wealthy oligarchy which exploited the poor or whether it fell under the domination of a turbulent mob which plundered the rich. In both cases there resulted violent alternations between tyranny and disorder, and a final complete loss of liberty to all citizens—destruction in the end overtaking the class which had for the moment been victorious as well as that which had momentarily been defeated. The death-knell of the Republic had rung as soon as the active power became lodged in the hands of those who sought, not to do justice to all citizens, rich and poor alike, but to stand for one special class and for its interests as opposed to the interests of others.

The reason why our future is assured lies in the fact that our people are genuinely skilled in and fitted for

self-government and therefore will spurn the leadership of those who seek to excite this ferocious and foolish class antagonism. The average American knows not only that he himself intends to do about what is right, but that his average fellow countryman has the same intention and the same power to make his intention effective. He knows, whether he be business man, professional man, farmer, mechanic, employer, or wage-worker, that the welfare of each of these men is bound up with the welfare of all the others; that each is neighbor to the other, is actuated by the same hopes and fears, has fundamentally the same ideals, and that all alike have much the same virtues and the same faults. Our average fellow citizen is a sane and healthy man, who believes in decency and has a wholesome mind. He therefore feels an equal scorn alike for the man of wealth guilty of the mean and base spirit of arrogance toward those who are less well off, and for the man of small means who in his turn either feels, or seeks to excite in others the feeling of mean and base envy for those who are better off. The two feelings, envy and arrogance, are but opposite sides of the same shield, but different developments of the same spirit. Fundamentally, the unscrupulous rich man who seeks to exploit and oppress those who are less well off is in spirit not opposed to, but identical with, the unscrupulous poor man who desires to plunder and oppress those who are better off. The courtier and the demagogue are but developments of the same type under different conditions, each manifesting the same servile spirit, the same desire to rise by pandering to base passions; though one panders to power in the shape of a single man and the other to power in the shape of a multitude. So likewise the man who wishes to rise by wronging others must

by right be contrasted, not with the man who likewise wishes to do wrong, though to a different set of people, but with the man who wishes to do justice to all people and to wrong none.

The line of cleavage between good and bad citizenship lies, not between the man of wealth who acts squarely by his fellows and the man who seeks each day's wage by that day's work, wronging no one and doing his duty by his neighbor; nor yet does this line of cleavage divide the unscrupulous wealthy man who exploits others in his own interest, from the demagogue, or from the sullen and envious being who wishes to attack all men of property, whether they do well or ill. On the contrary, the line of cleavage between good citizenship and bad citizenship separates the rich man who does well from the rich man who does ill, the poor man of good conduct from the poor man of bad conduct. This line of cleavage lies at right angles to any such arbitrary line of division as that separating one class from another, one locality from another, or men with a certain degree of property from those of a less degree of property.

The good citizen is the man who, whatever his wealth or his poverty, strives manfully to do his duty to himself, to his family, to his neighbor, to the State; who is incapable of the baseness which manifests itself either in arrogance or in envy, but who while demanding justice for himself is no less scrupulous to do justice to others. It is because the average American citizen, rich or poor, is of just this type that we have cause for our profound faith in the future of the Republic.

Ours is a government of liberty, by, through, and under the law. Lawlessness and connivance at lawbreaking—whether the lawbreaking take the form of

a crime of greed and cunning or of a crime of violence —are destructive not only of order, but of the true liberties which can only come through order. If alive to their true interests rich and poor alike will set their faces like flint against the spirit which seeks personal advantage by overriding the laws, without regard to whether this spirit shows itself in the form of bodily violence by one set of men or in the form of vulpine cunning by another set of men.

Let the watchwords of all our people be the old familiar watchwords of honesty, decency, fair dealing, and common sense. The qualities denoted by these words are essential to all of us, as we deal with the complex industrial problems of to-day, the problems affecting not merely the accumulation but even more the wise distribution of wealth. We ask no man's permission when we require him to obey the law; neither the permission of the poor man nor yet of the rich man. Least of all can the man of great wealth afford to break the law, even for his own financial advantage; for the law is his prop and support, and it is both foolish and profoundly unpatriotic for him to fail in giving hearty support to those who show that there is in very fact one law, and one law only, alike for the rich and the poor, for the great and the small.

Men sincerely interested in the due protection of property, and men sincerely interested in seeing that the just rights of labor are guaranteed, should alike remember not only that in the long run neither the capitalist nor the wage-worker can be helped in healthy fashion save by helping the other; but also that to require either side to obey the law and do its full duty toward the community is emphatically to that side's real interest.

There is no worse enemy of the wage-worker than the man who condones mob violence in any shape or who preaches class hatred; and surely the slightest acquaintance with our industrial history should teach even the most short-sighted that the times of most suffering for our people as a whole, the times when business is stagnant, and capital suffers from shrinkage and gets no return from its investments, are exactly the times of hardship, and want, and grim disaster among the poor. If all the existing instrumentalities of wealth could be abolished, the first and severest suffering would come among those of us who are least well off at present. The wage-worker is well off only when the rest of the country is well off; and he can best contribute to this general well-being by showing sanity and a firm purpose to do justice to others.

In his turn the capitalist who is really a conservative, the man who has forethought as well as patriotism, should heartily welcome every effort, legislative or otherwise, which has for its object to secure fair dealing by capital, corporate or individual, toward the public and toward the employee. Such laws as the franchise-tax law in this State, which the Court of Appeals recently unanimously decided constitutional—such a law as that passed in Congress last year for the purpose of establishing a Department of Commerce and Labor, under which there should be a bureau to oversee and secure publicity from the great corporations which do an interstate business—such a law as that passed at the same time for the regulation of the great highways of commerce so as to keep these roads clear on fair terms to all producers in getting their goods to market—these laws are in the interest not merely of the people as a whole, but of the propertied classes. For in no way is

the stability of property better assured than by making it patent to our people that property bears its proper share of the burdens of the State; that property is handled not only in the interest of the owner, but in the interest of the whole community.

In other words, legislation to be permanently good for any class must also be good for the nation as a whole, and legislation which does injustice to any class is certain to work harm to the nation. Take our currency system for example. This nation is on a gold basis. The treasury of the public is in excellent condition. Never before has the per capita of circulation been as large as it is this day; and this circulation, moreover, is of money every dollar of which is at par with gold. Now, our having this sound currency system is of benefit to banks, of course, but it is of infinitely more benefit to the people as a whole, because of the healthy effect on business conditions.

In the same way, whatever is advisable in the way of remedial or corrective currency legislation—and nothing revolutionary is advisable under present conditions—must be undertaken only from the standpoint of the business community as a whole, that is, of the American body politic as a whole. Whatever is done, we cannot afford to take any step backward or to cast any doubt upon the certain redemption in standard coin of every circulating note.

Among ourselves we differ in many qualities of body, head, and heart; we are unequally developed, mentally as well as physically. But each of us has the right to ask that he shall be protected from wrong-doing as he does his work and carries his burden through life. No man needs sympathy because he has to work, because he has a burden to carry. Far and away the best prize

that life offers is the chance to work hard at work worth doing; and this is a prize open to every man, for there can be no work better worth doing than that done to keep in health and comfort and with reasonable advantages those immediately dependent upon the husband, the father, or the son.

There is no room in our healthy American life for the mere idler, for the man or the woman whose object it is throughout life to shirk the duties which life ought to bring. Life can mean nothing worth meaning, unless its prime aim is the doing of duty, the achievement of results worth achieving. A recent writer has finely said: "After all, the saddest thing that can happen to a man is to carry no burdens. To be bent under too great a load is bad; to be crushed by it is lamentable; but even in that there are possibilities that are glorious. But to carry no load at all—there is nothing in that. No one seems to arrive at any goal really worth reaching in this world who does not come to it heavy laden."

Surely from our own experience each one of us knows that this is true. From the greatest to the smallest, happiness and usefulness are largely found in the same soul, and the joy of life is won in its deepest and truest sense only by those who have not shirked life's burdens. The men whom we most delight to honor in all this land are those who, in the iron years from '61 to '65, bore on their shoulders the burden of saving the Union. They did not choose the easy task. They did not shirk the difficult duty. Deliberately and of their own free will they strove for an ideal, upward and onward across the stony slopes of greatness. They did the hardest work that was then to be done; they bore the heaviest burden that any generation of Americans ever had to bear; and because they did this they have won such

proud joy as it has fallen to the lot of no other men to win, and have written their names forevermore on the golden honor-roll of the nation. As it is with the soldier, so it is with the civilian. To win success in the business world, to become a first-class mechanic, a successful farmer, an able lawyer or doctor, means that the man has devoted his best energy and power through long years to the achievement of his ends. So it is in the life of the family, upon which in the last analysis the whole welfare of the nation rests. The man or woman who as bread-winner and home-maker, or as wife and mother, has done all that he or she can do, patiently and uncomplainingly, is to be honored; and is to be envied by all those who have never had the good fortune to feel the need and duty of doing such work. The woman who has borne, and who has reared as they should be reared, a family of children, has in the most emphatic manner deserved well of the Republic. Her burden has been heavy, and she has been able to bear it worthily only by the possession of resolution, of good sense, of conscience, and of unselfishness. But if she has borne it well, then to her shall come the supreme blessing, for in the words of the oldest and greatest of books, "Her children shall rise up and call her blessed"; and among the benefactors of the land her place must be with those who have done the best and the hardest work, whether as lawgivers or as soldiers, whether in public or private life.

This is not a soft and easy creed to preach. It is a creed willingly learned only by men and women who, together with the softer virtues, possess also the stronger; who can do, and dare, and die at need, but who while life lasts will never flinch from their allotted task. You farmers, and wage-workers, and business men of this

great State, of this mighty and wonderful nation, are gathered together to-day, proud of your State and still prouder of your nation, because your forefathers and predecessors have lived up to just this creed. You have received from their hands a great inheritance, and you will leave an even greater inheritance to your children, and your children's children, provided only that you practise alike in your private and your public lives the strong virtues that have given us as a people greatness in the past. It is not enough to be well-meaning and kindly, but weak; neither is it enough to be strong, unless morality and decency go hand in hand with strength. We must possess the qualities which make us do our duty in our homes and among our neighbors, and in addition we must possess the qualities which are indispensable to the make-up of every great and masterful nation—the qualities of courage and hardihood, of individual initiative and yet of power to combine for a common end, and above all, the resolute determination to permit no man and no set of men to sunder us one from the other by lines of caste or creed or section. We must act upon the motto of all for each and each for all. There must be ever present in our minds the fundamental truth that in a republic such as ours the only safety is to stand neither for nor against any man because he is rich or because he is poor, because he is engaged in one occupation or another, because he works with his brains or because he works with his hands. We must treat each man on his worth and merits as a man. We must see that each is given a square deal, because he is entitled to no more and should receive no less. Finally we must keep ever in mind that a republic such as ours can exist only by virtue of the orderly liberty which comes through the equal domi-

nation of the law over all men alike, and through its administration in such resolute and fearless fashion as shall teach all that no man is above it and no man below it.

III

REGULATION OF CORPORATIONS

11

THE CONTROL OF CORPORATIONS *

We are passing through a period of great commercial prosperity, and such a period is as sure as adversity itself to bring mutterings of discontent. At a time when most men prosper somewhat some men always prosper greatly; and it is as true now as when the tower of Siloam fell upon all alike, that good fortune does not come solely to the just, nor bad fortune solely to the unjust. When the weather is good for crops it is good for weeds. Moreover, not only do the wicked flourish when the times are such that most men flourish, but, what is worse, the spirit of envy and jealousy springs up in the breasts of those who, though they may be doing fairly well themselves, see others no more deserving who do better.

Wise laws and fearless and upright administration of the laws can give the opportunity for such prosperity as we see about us. But that is all that they can do. When the conditions have been created which make prosperity possible, then each individual man must achieve it for himself by his own energy and thrift and business intelligence. If when people wax fat they kick, as they have kicked since the days of Jeshurun, they will speedily destroy their own prosperity. If they go into wild speculation and lose their heads they have lost that which no laws can supply. If in a spirit of sullen envy they insist upon pulling down those who

* Address at Providence, R. I., August 23, 1902.

have profited most in the years of fatness, they will bury themselves in the crash of the common disaster. It is difficult to make our material condition better by the best laws, but it is easy enough to ruin it by bad laws.

The upshot of all this is that it is peculiarly incumbent upon us in a time of such material well-being, both collectively as a nation and individually as citizens, to show, each on his own account, that we possess the qualities of prudence, self-knowledge, and self-restraint. In our government we need above all things stability, fixity of economic policy; while remembering that this fixity must not be fossilization, that there must not be inability to shift our laws so as to meet our shifting national needs. There are real and great evils in our social and economic life, and these evils stand out in all their ugly baldness in time of prosperity; for the wicked who prosper are never a pleasant sight. There is every need of striving in all possible ways, individually and collectively, by combinations among ourselves and through the recognized governmental agencies, to cut out those evils. All I ask is to be sure that we do not use the knife with an ignorant zeal which would make it more dangerous to the patient than to the disease.

One of the features of the tremendous industrial development of the last generation has been the very great increase in private, and especially in corporate, fortunes. We may like this or not, just as we choose, but it is a fact nevertheless; and as far as we can see it is an inevitable result of the working of the various causes, prominent among them steam and electricity. Urban population has grown in this country, as in all civilized countries, much faster than the population as a whole during the last century. If it were not for that

Rhode Island could not to-day be the State she is. Rhode Island has flourished as she has flourished because of the conditions which have brought about the great increase in urban life. There is evil in these conditions, but you can't destroy it unless you destroy the civilization they have brought about. Where men are gathered together in great masses it inevitably results that they must work far more largely through combinations than where they live scattered and remote from one another. Many of us prefer the old conditions of life, under which the average man lived more to himself and by himself, where the average community was more self-dependent, and where even though the standard of comfort was lower on the average, yet there was less of the glaring inequality in worldly conditions which we now see about us in our great cities. It is not true that the poor have grown poorer; but some of the rich have grown so very much richer that, where multitudes of men are herded together in a limited space, the contrast strikes the onlooker as more violent than formerly. On the whole, our people earn more and live better than ever before, and the progress of which we are so proud could not have taken place had it not been for the upbuilding of industrial centres, such as this in which I am speaking.

But together with the good there has come a measure of evil. Life is not so simple as it was; and surely, both for the individual and the community, the simple life is normally the healthy life. There is not in the great cities the feeling of brotherhood which there is still in country localities; and the lines of social cleavage are far more deeply marked.

For some of the evils which have attended upon the good of the changed conditions we can at present see

no complete remedy. For others the remedy must come by the action of men themselves in their private capacity, whether merely as individuals or by combination. For yet others some remedy can be found in legislative and executive action—national, State, or municipal. Much of the complaint against combinations is entirely unwarranted. Under present-day conditions it is as necessary to have corporations in the business world as it is to have organizations, unions, among wage-workers. We have a right to ask in each case only this: that good, and not harm, shall follow. Exactly as labor organizations, when managed intelligently and in a spirit of justice and fair play, are of very great service not only to the wage-workers, but to the whole community, as has been shown again and again in the history of many such organizations; so wealth, not merely individual, but corporate, when used aright is not merely beneficial to the community as a whole, but is absolutely essential to the upbuilding of such a series of communities as those whose citizens I am now addressing. This is so obvious that it ought to be too trite to mention, and yet it is necessary to mention it when we see some of the attacks made upon wealth, as such.

Of course a great fortune if used wrongly is a menace to the community. A man of great wealth who does not use that wealth decently is, in a peculiar sense, a menace to the community, and so is the man who does not use his intellect aright. Each talent—the talent for making money, the talent for showing intellect at the bar, or in any other way—if unaccompanied by character, makes the possessor a menace to the community. But such a fact no more warrants us in attacking wealth than it does in attacking intellect. Every man of

power, by the very fact of that power, is capable of doing damage to his neighbors; but we cannot afford to discourage the development of such men merely because it is possible they may use their power for wrong ends. If we did so we should leave our history a blank, for we should have no great statesmen, soldiers, merchants, no great men of arts, of letters, of science. Doubtless on the average the most useful citizen to the community as a whole is the man to whom has been granted what the Psalmist asked for—neither poverty nor riches. But the great captain of industry, the man of wealth, who, alone or in combination with his fellows, drives through our great business enterprises, is a factor without whom the civilization that we see roundabout us here could not have been built up. Good, not harm, normally comes from the upbuilding of such wealth. Probably the greatest harm done by vast wealth is the harm that we of moderate means do ourselves when we let the vices of envy and hatred enter deep into our own natures.

But there is other harm; and it is evident that we should try to do away with that. The great corporations which we have grown to speak of rather loosely as trusts are the creatures of the State, and the State not only has the right to control them, but it is in duty bound to control them wherever the need of such control is shown. There is clearly need of supervision—need to possess the power of regulation of these great corporations through the representatives of the public—wherever, as in our own country at the present time, business corporations become so very powerful alike for beneficent work and for work that is not always beneficent. It is idle to say that there is no need for such supervision. There is, and a sufficient warrant for it is

to be found in any one of the admitted evils appertaining to them.

We meet a peculiar difficulty under our system of government, because of the division of governmental power between the nation and the States. When the industrial conditions were simple, very little control was needed, and the difficulties of exercising such control under our Constitution were not evident. Now the conditions are complicated and we find it hard to frame national legislation which shall be adequate; while as a matter of practical experience it has been shown that the States either cannot or will not exercise a sufficient control to meet the needs of the case. Some of our States have excellent laws—laws which it would be well indeed to have enacted by the national legislature. But the wide-spread differences in these laws, even between adjacent States, and the uncertainty of the power of enforcement, result practically in altogether insufficient control. I believe that the nation must assume this power of control by legislation; if necessary by constitutional amendment. The immediate necessity in dealing with trusts is to place them under the real, not the nominal, control of some sovereign to which, as its creatures, the trusts shall owe allegiance, and in whose courts the sovereign's orders may be enforced.

This is not the case with the ordinary so-called "trust" to-day; for the trust nowadays is a large State corporation, which generally does business in other States, often with a tendency toward monopoly. Such a trust is an artificial creature not wholly responsible to or controllable by any legislation, either by State or nation, and not subject to the jurisdiction of any one court. Some governmental sovereign must be given

full power over these artificial, and very powerful, corporate beings. In my judgment this sovereign must be the National Government. When it has been given full power, then this full power can be used to control any evil influence, exactly as the government is now using the power conferred upon it by the Sherman antitrust law.

Even when the power has been granted it would be most unwise to exercise it too much, to begin by too stringent legislation. The mechanism of modern business is as delicate and complicated as it is vast, and nothing would be more productive of evil to all of us, and especially to those least well off in this world's goods, than ignorant meddling with this mechanism—above all, meddling in a spirit of class legislation or hatred or rancor. It is eminently necessary that the power should be had, but it is just as necessary that it should be exercised with wisdom and self-restraint. The first exercise of that power should be the securing of publicity among all great corporations doing an interstate business. The publicity, though non-inquisitorial, should be real and thorough as to all important facts with which the public has concern. Daylight is a powerful discourager of evil. Such publicity would by itself tend to cure the evils of which there is just complaint; it would show us if evils existed, and where the evils are imaginary, and it would show us what next ought to be done.

Above all, let us remember that our success in accomplishing anything depends very much upon our not trying to accomplish everything. Distrust whoever pretends to offer you a patent cure-all for every ill of the body politic, just as you would a man who offers a medicine which would cure every evil of your individual

body. A medicine that is recommended to cure both asthma and a broken leg is not good for either. Mankind has moved slowly upward through the ages, sometimes a little faster, sometimes a little slower, but rarely indeed by leaps and bounds. At times a great crisis comes in which a great people, perchance led by a great man, can at white heat strike some mighty blow for the right—make a long stride in advance along the path of justice and of orderly liberty. But normally we must be content if each of us can do something—not all that we wish, but something—for the advancement of those principles of righteousness which underlie all real national greatness, all true civilization and freedom. I see no promise of any immediate and complete solution of all the problems we group together when we speak of the trust question. But we can make a beginning in solving these problems, and a good beginning, if only we approach the subject with a sufficiency of resolution, of honesty, and of that hard common sense which is one of the most valuable, and not always one of the most common, assets in any nation's greatness. The existing laws will be fully enforced as they stand on the statute-books without regard to persons, and I think good has already come from their enforcement. I think, furthermore, that additional legislation should be had and can be had, which will enable us to accomplish much more along the same lines. No man can promise a perfect solution, at least in the immediate future. But something has already been done, and much more can be done if our people temperately and determinedly will that it shall be done.

In conclusion let me add one word. While we are not to be excused if we fail to do whatever is possible through the agency of government, we must keep ever

in mind that no action of the government, no action by combination among ourselves, can take the place of the individual qualities to which in the long run every man must owe the success he can make of life. There never has been devised, and there never will be devised, any law which will enable a man to succeed save by the exercise of those qualities which have always been the prerequisites of success—the qualities of hard work, of keen intelligence, of unflinching will. Such action can supplement those qualities but it cannot take their place. No action by the State can do more than supplement the initiative of the individual; and ordinarily the action of the State can do no more than to secure to each individual the chance to show under as favorable conditions as possible the stuff that there is in him.

12

LEGISLATIVE ACTIONS AND JUDICIAL DECISIONS *

I CANNOT do better than base my theory of governmental action upon the words and deeds of one of Pennsylvania's greatest sons, Justice James Wilson. Wilson's career has been singularly overlooked for many years, but I believe that more and more it is now being adequately appreciated; and I congratulate your State upon the fact that Wilson's body is to be taken away from where it now rests and brought back to lie, as it should, in Pennsylvania soil. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was one of the men who saw that the Revolution, in which he had served as a soldier, would be utterly fruitless unless it was followed by a close and permanent union of the States; and in the Constitutional Convention, and in securing the adoption of the Constitution and expounding what it meant, he rendered services even greater than he rendered as a member of the Continental Congress, which declared our independence; for it was the success of the makers and preservers of the Union which justified our independence.

He believed in the people with the faith of Abraham Lincoln; and coupled with his faith in the people he had what most of the men who in this generation believed in the people did not have; that is, the courage to recognize the fact that faith in the people amounted to nothing unless the representatives of the people assembled together in the National Government were

* Address at the Dedication Ceremonies of the New State Capitol Building at Harrisburg, Pa., October 4, 1906.

given full and complete power to work on behalf of the people. He developed even before Marshall the doctrine (absolutely essential not merely to the efficiency but to the existence of this nation) that an inherent power rested in the nation, outside of the enumerated powers conferred upon it by the Constitution, in all cases where the object involved was beyond the power of the several States and was a power ordinarily exercised by sovereign nations.

In a remarkable letter in which he advocated setting forth in early and clear fashion the powers of the National Government, he laid down the proposition that it should be made clear that there were neither vacancies nor interferences between the limits of State and national jurisdiction, and that both jurisdictions together composed only one uniform and comprehensive system of government and laws; that is, whenever the States cannot act, because the need to be met is not one of merely a single locality, then the National Government, representing all the people, should have complete power to act. It was in the spirit of Wilson that Washington, and Washington's lieutenant, Hamilton, acted; and it was in the same spirit that Marshall construed the law.

It is only by acting in this spirit that the national judges, legislators, and executives can give a satisfactory solution of the great question of the present day—the question of providing on behalf of the sovereign people the means which will enable the people in effective form to assert their sovereignty over the immense corporations of the day. Certain judicial decisions have done just what Wilson feared; they have, as a matter of fact, left vacancies, left blanks between the limits of possible State jurisdiction and the limits of

actual national jurisdiction over the control of the great business corporations. It is the narrow construction of the powers of the National Government which in our democracy has proved the chief means of limiting the national power to cut out abuses, and which is now the chief bulwark of those great moneyed interests which oppose and dread any attempt to place them under efficient governmental control.

Many legislative actions and many judicial decisions which I am confident time will show to have been erroneous and a damage to the country would have been avoided if our legislators and jurists had approached the matter of enacting and construing the laws of the land in the spirit of your great Pennsylvanian, Justice Wilson—in the spirit of Marshall and of Washington. Such decisions put us at a great disadvantage in the battle for industrial order as against the present industrial chaos. If we interpret the Constitution in narrow instead of broad fashion, if we forsake the principles of Washington, Marshall, Wilson, and Hamilton, we as a people will render ourselves impotent to deal with any abuses which may be committed by the men who have accumulated the enormous fortunes of to-day, and who use these fortunes in still vaster corporate form in business.

The legislative or judicial actions and decisions of which I complain, be it remembered, do not really leave to the States power to deal with corporate wealth in business. Actual experience has shown that the States are wholly powerless to deal with this subject; and any action or decision that deprives the nation of the power to deal with it, simply results in leaving the corporations absolutely free to work without any effective supervision whatever; and such a course is fraught with

untold danger to the future of our whole system of government, and, indeed, to our whole civilization.

All honest men must abhor and reprobate any effort to excite hostility to men of wealth as such. We should do all we can to encourage thrift and business energy, to put a premium upon the conduct of the man who honestly earns his livelihood and more than his livelihood, and who honestly uses the money he has earned. But it is our clear duty to see, in the interest of the people, that there is adequate supervision and control over the business use of the swollen fortunes of to-day, and also wisely to determine the conditions upon which these fortunes are to be transmitted and the percentage that they shall pay to the government whose protecting arm alone enables them to exist. Only the nation can do this work. To relegate it to the States is a farce, and is simply another way of saying that it shall not be done at all.

Under a wise and far-seeing interpretation of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, I maintain that the National Government should have complete power to deal with all of this wealth which in any way goes into the commerce between the States—and practically all of it that is employed in the great corporations does thus go in. The national legislators should most scrupulously avoid any demagogic legislation about the business use of this wealth, and should realize that it would be better to have no legislation at all than legislation couched either in a vindictive spirit of hatred toward men of wealth or else drawn with the recklessness of impracticable visionaries. But, on the other hand, it shall and must ultimately be understood that the United States Government, on behalf of the people of the United States, has and is to exercise the power

of supervision and control over the business use of this wealth—in the first place, over all the work of the common carriers of the nation, and in the next place over the work of all the great corporations which directly or indirectly do any interstate business whatever—and this includes almost all of the great corporations.

During the last few years the National Government has taken very long strides in the direction of exercising and securing this adequate control over the great corporations, and it was under the leadership of one of the most honored public men in our country, one of Pennsylvania's most eminent sons—the present Senator, and then Attorney-General, Knox—that the new departure was begun. Events have moved fast during the last five years, and it is curious to look back at the extreme bitterness which not merely the spokesmen and representatives of organized wealth, but many most excellent conservative people then felt as to the action of Mr. Knox and of the Administration.

Many of the greatest financiers of this country were certain that Mr. Knox's Northern Securities suit, if won, would plunge us into the worst panic we had ever seen. They denounced as incitement to anarchy, as an apology for socialism, the advocacy of policies that either have now become law or are in fair way of becoming law; and yet these same policies, so far from representing either anarchy or socialism, were in reality the antidotes to anarchy, the antidotes to socialism. To exercise a constantly increasing and constantly more efficient supervision and control over the great common carriers of the country prevents all necessity for seriously considering such a project as the government ownership of railroads—a policy which would be evil in its results from every standpoint.

A similar extension of the national power to oversee and secure correct behavior in the management of all great corporations engaged in interstate business will in similar fashion render far more stable the present system by doing away with those grave abuses which are not only evil in themselves but are also evil because they furnish an excuse for agitators to inflame well-meaning people against all forms of property, and to commit the country to schemes of wild, would-be remedy which would work infinitely more harm than the disease itself. The government ought not to conduct the business of the country; but it ought to regulate it so that it shall be conducted in the interest of the public.

Perhaps the best justification of the course which in the National Government we have been pursuing in the past few years, and which we intend steadily and progressively to pursue in the future, is that it is condemned with almost equal rancor alike by the reactionaries—the Bourbons—on one side, and by the wild apostles of unrest on the other. The reactionary is bitterly angry because we have deprived him of that portion of his power which he misuses to the public hurt; the agitator is angered for various reasons, including among others the fact that by remedying the abuses we have deprived him of the fulcrum of real grievance, which alone renders the lever of irrational agitation formidable.

We have actually accomplished much. But we have not accomplished all, nor anything like all, that we feel must be accomplished. We shall not halt; we shall steadily follow the path we have marked out, executing the laws we have succeeded in putting upon the statute-books with absolute impartiality as between man and man, and unresting in our endeavor to strengthen and

supplement these by further laws which shall enable us in more efficient and more summary fashion to achieve the ends we have in view.

During the last few years Congress has had to deal with such vitally important questions as providing for the building of the Panama Canal, inaugurating the vast system of national irrigation in the States of the great plains and the Rocky Mountains, providing for a Pacific cable, upbuilding the navy, and so forth. Yet in addition to these tasks, some of which are of stupendous importance, Congress has taken giant strides along the path of government regulation and control of corporations; the interstate commerce law has been made effective in radical and far-reaching fashion, rebates have been stopped, a pure-food law has been passed, proper supervision of the meat-packing business provided, and the Bureau of Corporations established —a bureau which has already done great good, and which can and should be given a constantly increasing functional power.

The work of legislation has been no more important than the work done by the Department of Justice in executing the laws, not only against corporations and individuals who have broken the antitrust or interstate commerce law, but against those who have been engaged in land frauds. Scores of suits, civil and criminal, have been successfully undertaken against offenders of all kinds—many of them against the most formidable and wealthy combinations in the land; in some the combinations have been dissolved, in some heavy fines have been imposed, in several cases the chief offenders have been imprisoned.

It behooves us Americans to look ahead and plan out the right kind of a civilization, as that which we intend

to develop from these wonderful new conditions of vast industrial growth. It must not be, it shall not be, the civilization of a mere plutocracy, a banking-house, Wall-Street-syndicate civilization; nor yet can there be submission to class hatred, to rancor, brutality, and mob violence, for that would mean the end of all civilization. Increased powers are susceptible of abuse as well as use; never before have the opportunities for selfishness been so great, nor the results of selfishness so appalling; for in communities where everything is organized on a merely selfish commercial basis, such selfishness, if unchecked, may transform the great forces of the new epoch into powers of destruction hitherto unequalled.

We need to check the forces of greed, to insure just treatment alike of capital and of labor, and of the general public, to prevent any man, rich or poor, from doing or receiving wrong, whether this wrong be one of cunning or of violence. Much can be done by wise legislation and by resolute enforcement of the law. But still more must be done by steady training of the individual citizen, in conscience and character, until he grows to abhor corruption and greed and tyranny and brutality and to prize justice and fair dealing.

The men who are to do the work of the new epoch must be trained so as to have a sturdy self-respect, a power of sturdy insistence on their own rights, and with it a proud and generous recognition of their duties, a sense of honorable obligation to their fellows, which will bind them, as by bands of steel, to refrain in their daily work at home or in their business from doing aught to any man which cannot be blazoned under the noonday sun.

13

THE PURITAN SPIRIT AND THE REGULATION OF CORPORATIONS *

It is not too much to say that the event commemorated by the monument which we have come here to dedicate was one of those rare events which can in good faith be called of world importance. The coming hither of the Pilgrim three centuries ago, followed in far larger numbers by his sterner kinsmen, the Puritans, shaped the destinies of this continent, and therefore profoundly affected the destiny of the whole world. Men of other races, the Frenchman and the Spaniard, the Dutchman, the German, the Scotchman, the Irishman, and the Swede, made settlements within what is now the United States, during the colonial period of our history and before the Declaration of Independence; and since then there has been an ever-swelling immigration from Ireland and from the mainland of Europe; but it was the Englishman who settled in Virginia and the Englishman who settled in Massachusetts who did most in shaping the lines of our national development.

We cannot as a nation be too profoundly grateful for the fact that the Puritan has stamped his influence so deeply on our national life. We need have but scant patience with the men who now rail at the Puritan's faults. They were evident, of course, for it is a quality of strong natures that their failings, like their virtues, should stand out in bold relief; but there is nothing easier than to belittle the great men of the past by

* Address at the laying of the corner-stone of the Pilgrim Memorial Monument, Provincetown, Mass., August 20, 1907.

dwelling only on the points where they come short of the universally recognized standards of the present. Men must be judged with reference to the age in which they dwell, and the work they have to do. The Puritan's task was to conquer a continent; not merely to overrun it, but to settle it, to till it, to build upon it a high industrial and social life; and, while engaged in the rough work of taming the shaggy wilderness, at that very time also to lay deep the immovable foundations of our whole American system of civil, political, and religious liberty achieved through the orderly process of law. This was the work allotted him to do; this is the work he did; and only a master spirit among men could have done it.

We have travelled far since his day. That liberty of conscience which he demanded for himself, we now realize must be as freely accorded to others as it is resolutely insisted upon for ourselves. The splendid qualities which he left to his children, we other Americans who are not of Puritan blood also claim as our heritage. You, sons of the Puritans, and we, who are descended from races whom the Puritans would have deemed alien —we are all Americans together. We all feel the same pride in the genesis, in the history, of our people; and therefore this shrine of Puritanism is one at which we all gather to pay homage, no matter from what country our ancestors sprang.

We have gained some things that the Puritan had not—we of this generation, we of the twentieth century, here in this great Republic; but we are also in danger of losing certain things which the Puritan had and which we can by no manner of means afford to lose. We have gained a joy of living which he had not, and which it is a good thing for every people to have and to

develop. Let us see to it that we do not lose what is more important still; that we do not lose the Puritan's iron sense of duty, his unbending, unflinching will to do the right as it was given him to see the right. It is a good thing that life should gain in sweetness, but only provided that it does not lose in strength. Ease and rest and pleasure are good things, but only if they come as the reward of work well done, of a good fight well won, of strong effort resolutely made and crowned by high achievement. The life of mere pleasure, of mere effortless ease, is as ignoble for a nation as for an individual. The man is but a poor father who teaches his sons that ease and pleasure should be their chief objects in life; the woman who is a mere petted toy, incapable of serious purpose, shrinking from effort and duty, is more pitiable than the veriest overworked drudge. So he is but a poor leader of the people, but a poor national adviser, who seeks to make the nation in any way subordinate effort to ease, who would teach the people not to prize as the greatest blessing the chance to do any work, no matter how hard, if it becomes their duty to do it. To the sons of the Puritans it is almost needless to say that the lesson above all others which Puritanism can teach this nation is the all-importance of the resolute performance of duty. If we are men we will pass by with contemptuous disdain alike the advisers who would seek to lead us into the paths of ignoble ease and those who would teach us to admire successful wrong-doing. Our ideals should be high, and yet they should be capable of achievement in practical fashion; and we are as little to be excused if we permit our ideals to be tainted with what is sordid and mean and base, as if we allow our power of achievement to atrophy and become either incapable of effort

or capable only of such fantastic effort as to accomplish nothing of permanent good. The true doctrine to preach to this nation, as to the individuals composing this nation, is not the life of ease, but the life of effort. If it were in my power to promise the people of this land anything, I would not promise them pleasure. I would promise them that stern happiness which comes from the sense of having done in practical fashion a difficult work which was worth doing.

The Puritan owed his extraordinary success in subduing this continent and making it the foundation for a social life of ordered liberty primarily to the fact that he combined in a very remarkable degree both the power of individual initiative, of individual self-help, and the power of acting in combination with his fellows; and that furthermore he joined to a high heart that shrewd common sense which saves a man from the besetting sins of the visionary and the doctrinaire. He was stout-hearted and hard-headed. He had lofty purposes, but he had practical good sense, too. He could hold his own in the rough workaday world without clamorous insistence upon being helped by others, and yet he could combine with others whenever it became necessary to do a job which could not be as well done by any one man individually.

These were the qualities which enabled him to do his work, and they are the very qualities which we must show in doing our work to-day. There is no use in our coming here to pay homage to the men who founded this nation unless we first of all come in the spirit of trying to do our work to-day as they did their work in the yesterdays that have vanished. The problems shift from generation to generation, but the spirit in which they must be approached, if they are to be successfully

solved, remains ever the same. The Puritan tamed the wilderness, and built up a free government on the stump-dotted clearings amid the primeval forest. His descendants must try to shape the life of our complex industrial civilization by new devices, by new methods, so as to achieve in the end the same results of justice and fair dealing toward all. He cast aside nothing old merely for the sake of innovation, yet he did not hesitate to adopt anything new that would serve his purpose. When he planted his commonwealths on this rugged coast he faced wholly new conditions and he had to devise new methods of meeting them. So we of to-day face wholly new conditions in our social and industrial life. We should certainly not adopt any new scheme for grappling with them merely because it is new and untried; but we cannot afford to shrink from grappling with them because they can only be grappled with by some new scheme.

The Puritan was no Laodicean, no *laissez-faire* theorist. When he saw conduct which was in violation of his rights—of the rights of man, the rights of God, as he understood them—he attempted to regulate such conduct with instant, unquestioning promptness and effectiveness. If there was no other way to secure conformity with the rule of right, then he smote down the transgressor with the iron of his wrath. The spirit of the Puritan was a spirit which never shrank from regulation of conduct if such regulation was necessary for the public weal; and this is the spirit which we must show to-day whenever it is necessary.

The utterly changed conditions of our national life necessitate changes in certain of our laws, of our governmental methods. In dealing with any totally new set of conditions there must at the outset be hesitation

and experiment. Such has been our experience in dealing with the enormous concentration of capital employed in interstate business. Not only the legislatures but the courts and the people need gradually to be educated so that they may see what the real wrongs are and what the real remedies. Almost every big business concern is engaged in interstate commerce, and such a concern must not be allowed by a dexterous shifting of position, as has been too often the case in the past, to escape thereby all responsibility either to State or nation. The American people became firmly convinced of the need of control over these great aggregations of capital, especially where they had a monopolistic tendency, before they became quite clear as to the proper way of achieving the control. Through their representatives in Congress they tried two remedies, which were to a large degree, at least as interpreted by the courts, contradictory. On the one hand, under the antitrust law the effort was made to prohibit all combination, whether it was or was not hurtful or beneficial to the public. On the other hand, through the interstate commerce law a beginning was made in exercising such supervision and control over combinations as to prevent their doing anything harmful to the body politic. The first law, the so-called Sherman law, has filled a useful place, for it bridges over the transition period until the American people shall definitely make up its mind that it will exercise over the great corporations that thoroughgoing and radical control which it is certain ultimately to find necessary. The principle of the Sherman law, so far as it prohibits combinations which, whether because of their extent or of their character, are harmful to the public, must always be preserved. Ultimately, and I hope with reasonable speed,

the National Government must pass laws which, while increasing the supervisory and regulatory power of the government, will also permit such useful combinations as are made with absolute openness and as the representatives of the government may previously approve. But it will not be possible to permit such combinations save as the second stage in a course of proceedings of which the first stage must be the exercise of a far more complete control by the National Government.

In dealing with those who offend against the anti-trust and interstate commerce laws the Department of Justice has to encounter many and great difficulties. Often men who have been guilty of violating these laws have really acted in criminal fashion, and if possible should be proceeded against criminally; and therefore it is advisable that there should be a clause in these laws providing for such criminal action and for punishment by imprisonment as well as by fine. But, as is well known, in a criminal action the law is strictly construed in favor of the defendant, and in our country, at least, both judge and jury are far more inclined to consider his rights than they are the interests of the general public; while in addition it is always true that a man's general practices may be so bad that a civil action will lie when it may not be possible to convict him of any one criminal act. There are unfortunately a certain number of our fellow countrymen who seem to accept the view that unless a man can be proved guilty of some particular crime he shall be counted a good citizen, no matter how infamous the life he has led, no matter how pernicious his doctrines or his practices. This is the view announced from time to time with clamorous insistence, now by a group of predatory capitalists, now by a group of sinister anarchistic leaders

and agitators, whenever a special champion of either class, no matter how evil his general life, is acquitted of some one specific crime. Such a view is wicked whether applied to capitalist or labor leader, to rich man or poor man. (And, by the way, I take this opportunity of stating that all that I have said in the past as to desirable and undesirable citizens remains true, and that I stand by it.)

We have to take this feeling into account when we are debating whether it is possible to get a conviction in a criminal proceeding against some rich trust magnate, many of whose actions are severely to be condemned from the moral and social standpoint, but no one of whose actions seems clearly to establish such technical guilt as will insure a conviction. As a matter of expediency, in enforcing the law against a great corporation, we have continually to weigh the arguments pro and con as to whether a prosecution can successfully be entered into, and as to whether we can be successful in a criminal action against the chief individuals in the corporation, and if not, whether we can at least be successful in a civil action against the corporation itself. Any effective action on the part of the government is always objected to, as a matter of course, by the wrong-doers, by the beneficiaries of the wrong-doers, and by their champions; and often one of the most effective ways of attacking the action of the government is by objecting to practical action upon the ground that it does not go far enough. One of the favorite devices of those who are really striving to prevent the enforcement of these laws is to clamor for action of such severity that it cannot be undertaken because it will be certain to fail if tried. An instance of this is the demand often made for criminal prosecutions

where such prosecutions would be certain to fail. We have found by actual experience that a jury which will gladly punish a corporation by fine, for instance, will acquit the individual members of that corporation if we proceed against them criminally because of those very things which the corporation which they direct and control has done. In a recent case against the Licorice Trust we indicted and tried the two corporations and their respective presidents. The contracts and other transactions establishing the guilt of the corporations were made through, and so far as they were in writing were signed by, the two presidents. Yet the jury convicted the two corporations and acquitted the two men. Both verdicts could not possibly have been correct; but apparently the average juryman wishes to see trusts broken up, and is quite ready to fine the corporation itself; but is very reluctant to find the facts "proven beyond a reasonable doubt" when it comes to sending to jail a reputable member of the business community for doing what the business community has unhappily grown to recognize as well-nigh normal in business. Moreover, under the necessary technicalities of criminal proceedings, often the only man who can be reached criminally will be some subordinate who is not the real guilty party at all.

Many men of large wealth have been guilty of conduct which from the moral standpoint is criminal, and their misdeeds are to a peculiar degree reprehensible, because those committing them have no excuse of want, of poverty, of weakness and ignorance to offer as partial atonement. When in addition to moral responsibility these men have a legal responsibility which can be proved so as to impress a judge and jury, then the department will strain every nerve to reach them crimi-

nally. Where this is impossible, then it will take whatever action will be most effective under the actual conditions.

In the last six years we have shown that there is no individual and no corporation so powerful that he or it stands above the possibility of punishment under the law. Our aim is to try to do something effective; our purpose is to stamp out the evil; we shall seek to find the most effective device for this purpose; and we shall then use it, whether the device can be found in existing law or must be supplied by legislation. Moreover, when we thus take action against the wealth which works iniquity, we are acting in the interest of every man of property who acts decently and fairly by his fellows; and we are strengthening the hands of those who propose fearlessly to defend property against all unjust attacks. No individual, no corporation, obeying the law has anything to fear from this Administration.

During the present trouble with the stock-market I have, of course, received countless requests and suggestions, public and private, that I should say or do something to ease the situation. There is a world-wide financial disturbance; it is felt in the bourses of Paris and Berlin; and British consols are lower than for a generation, while British railway securities have also depreciated. On the New York Stock Exchange the disturbance has been peculiarly severe. Most of it I believe to be due to matters not peculiar to the United States, and most of the remainder to matters wholly unconnected with any governmental action; but it may well be that the determination of the government (in which, gentlemen, it will not waver) to punish certain malefactors of great wealth, has been responsible for something of the trouble; at least to the extent of hav-

ing caused these men to combine to bring about as much financial stress as possible, in order to discredit the policy of the government and thereby secure a reversal of that policy, so that they may enjoy unmolested the fruits of their own evil-doing. That they have misled many good people into believing that there should be such reversal of policy is possible. If so I am sorry; but it will not alter my attitude. Once for all let me say that so far as I am concerned, and for the eighteen months of my presidency that remain, there will be no change in the policy we have steadily pursued, no let up in the effort to secure the honest observance of the law; for I regard this contest as one to determine who shall rule this free country—the people through their governmental agents, or a few ruthless and domineering men whose wealth makes them peculiarly formidable because they hide behind the breastworks of corporate organization. I wish there to be no mistake on this point; it is idle to ask me not to prosecute criminals, rich or poor. But I desire no less emphatically to have it understood that we have sanctioned and will sanction no action of a vindictive type, and above all no action which shall inflict great and unmerited suffering upon innocent stockholders or upon the public as a whole. Our purpose is to act with the minimum of harshness compatible with attaining our ends. In the man of great wealth who has earned his wealth honestly and uses it wisely we recognize a good citizen of the best type, worthy of all praise and respect. Business can be done under modern conditions only through corporations, and our purpose is heartily to favor the corporations that do well. The Administration appreciates that liberal but honest profits for legitimate promoting, good salaries, ample salaries, for able and

upright management, and generous dividends for capital employed either in founding or continuing wholesome business ventures, are the factors necessary for successful corporate activity and therefore for generally prosperous business conditions. All these are compatible with fair dealing as between man and man and rigid obedience to the law. Our aim is to help every honest man, every honest corporation, and our policy means in its ultimate analysis a healthy and prosperous expansion of the business activities of honest business men and honest corporations.

14

THE RADICAL MOVEMENT UNDER CONSERVATIVE DIRECTION *

My friends, I am very glad to appear before a Chamber of Commerce in the East, and to say just what I have said to my farmer gatherings in the West. I have in the course of my life quoted, again and again, the utterance of one of New Haven's—I am going to correct that—of one of America's most distinguished citizens, a man who is present to-night, a type of what is best in American scholarship, Professor Lounsbury of Yale. I have often quoted one of the sentences contained in his "Life of Fenimore Cooper" in which he speaks of "the infinite capacity of the human brain to withstand the introduction of knowledge." I think that capacity is not confined to those classes of the community who have failed to enjoy a college education. You don't seem enthusiastic over that remark.

Now I feel most strongly that in our country, in a republic constituted as ours is constituted, the safety of the commonwealth depends to a very large degree upon the way in which the men of the different sections and in different types of business and social development can feel with and for one another. That extraordinary industrial development witnessed by the last half of the nineteenth century has left to those who will shape the course of legislative, of political, of social, of industrial development during the first half of the twentieth century a double task. It is ours to take

* Address before the Chamber of Commerce, New Haven, Conn., December 13, 1910.

advantage of all the good that was done by the men who shaped affairs during the last sixty years; and it also is ours to remedy the defects, to remedy the errors, that inevitably and necessarily accompanied that development.

During the last half of the nineteenth century the people of the world at large, and particularly our people, concerned themselves chiefly with the accumulation of material well-being. They believed quite sincerely and quite honestly that if enough well-being were accumulated in the country the distribution of it would take care of itself.

We of this generation are seeing more and more clearly the error of that position. We see more and more clearly that our problem in the immediate future must be not only to accumulate material well-being but to try our best to see that the distribution of that well-being at least measurably approaches to what is demanded by justice, by equity, by the sense of obligation which each of us should have for his brother's welfare.

Now I well realize that bodies like this have been industriously taught to regard me as a kind of modified anarchist, my critics hesitating only whether to denounce my speeches as containing only platitudes, or as being incitements to revolution. Now, gentlemen, they may fall into either category but they can't fall into both. As a matter of fact, I think if you will read what I have said and not what certain of the representatives of the palladium of our liberty, the daily press, state that I have said, you will come to the conclusion that I am only trying to preach the doctrines in accordance with which this Republic was founded, the doctrines which were lived up to by those who in the

days of Abraham Lincoln saved this Republic and the doctrines up to which we in our turn must live if we are to hand on to our children the heritage which we received from our fathers. And I ask you, when you praise Lincoln's name, when you applaud an allusion to the memories of the deeds of the great men of Lincoln's time, to remember that the praise that counts finds expression in deeds; that it avails absolutely nothing to praise the men who fought for human liberty, who fought for the rights of men, and for the welfare of a great democratic commonwealth, from '61 to '65, unless you are willing to face the problems of to-day in precisely the same spirit with which those men faced the problems of their day.

The criticism has been made of me that I am a radical. So I am. I couldn't be anything else, feeling as I do. But I am a radical who most earnestly desires to see the radical programme carried out by conservatives. I wish to see industrial and social reforms of a far-reaching nature accomplished in this country, and I wish to see them accomplished, not under the leadership of those who will materially profit by them, but under the leadership of those who will lose rather than profit by them. I want to see just such men as you here, whom I am now addressing, taking the lead in solving those problems. I wish to see that for two reasons. In the first place for your sakes, and in the next place for the sake of the nation. I believe most emphatically in the progress which shall be gradual and not by leaps and starts. I believe most emphatically in the progress which shall be sane, and therefore I wish to see our people as a whole combine the firm resolution to go forward with the firm resolution to test each step and see that that step really does represent

movement forward and not to one side. I wish to see men such as are gathered here to-night keep the leadership of the community. You can't keep it unless you really lead the community. If you try either to drive or cheat the community you will lose your lead. You can only lead by appealing to the conscience and the reason of the people as a whole, and you can't do that unless you make them feel that in good faith you have their interest at heart.

I wish to see the great corporations regulated. I wish to see the hand of the State, the hand of the nation, put on to the great corporations doing business on a gigantic scale, and I wish to see the movement for securing such collective supervision and control of the great corporations take place under the lead of sober, responsible men who shall be anxious to conserve the just rights of property and at the same time to remember that the rights of man must be paramount in any republic such as ours.

Friends, I want that movement to take place under sober responsible men, not under demagogues. I want to see, and I want you to realize, that if you don't lead such a movement, you people who ought to be leaders in the community, it won't mean that the movement won't take place. It will only mean that the movement will take place under less responsible leadership.

I would ask you to lead in that type of movement in the interest not of radicalism but of conservatism. I want you to lead in this because the movement must come and I want it to come under sane leadership.

That is not the only thing. I wish not only to see you work for the supervision of the corporations in their relations to the general public, but I wish to see you work for improvement in legislation as regards the

rights of laboring men. I want to see every movement for the betterment of the wage-worker take place not merely with the hearty sympathy and co-operation of men like you here to-night, but under your leadership. I don't wish to see a movement for the betterment of conditions of labor tainted with the selfishness inevitably accompanying a movement where those who are to be benefited are the only ones that take the lead in it. I want you men here who are not personally to be benefited by limiting the hours of labor, who are not personally to be benefited by doing away with child labor, who are not personally to be benefited by seeing that the wage-worker is compensated when he is crippled in any occupation or that his widow and children receive compensation when he is killed in such an occupation. I wish you men who have no selfish interest in that movement to lead for the very reason that you have no selfish interest in it. I want you to do that for two reasons. In the first place, as you don't have the taint of selfish interest, you will be free from the temptation to be led into follies.

Now when I speak of the duties and shortcomings of laboring men, I speak to them and not about them; it is when I address them themselves that I speak of their shortcomings. There are plenty of them—I mean of the shortcomings. They are very human. It's in such a speech as I made at Columbus last fall to the strikers, or on Labor Day to the labor organizations in Fargo, that I dwell upon their shortcomings and warn them of the dangers to which they are exposed if they follow false gods, if they indulge in lawlessness, in violence, if they put themselves outside the pale of sympathy of the community. I am exactly as well aware of their shortcomings as of the shortcomings of the rest of us.

I will do at any time everything in my power to see that violence, that mob rule, shall not obtain in our country.

As I have said to them face to face, again and again, when the laws are disregarded, when violence obtains, all question of reform must cease until order is restored, until the law has its course normally and under ordinary conditions. In other words there must be the reign of law and of order. But this is not enough in itself. Law and order cannot obtain under the worst conditions. Without law and order there results that frightful anarchy which is worse than existence under a despotism and under a tyranny. But law and order are not enough; law and order must serve as a foundation upon which to build justice, upon which to build a fabric in which each man shall be secured in his rights. And you and those like you owe it to the nation and owe it to yourselves to strive just as heartily, just as earnestly for the rights of the wage-worker, for the rights of the small man, as for the rights of those classes from among which membership in institutions like this is drawn.

We must have leadership in any community and there must be a full and honest reward of leadership. That's just as true in the industrial world as in any other line. I wish to see the fullest and amplest reward given to the great industrial leaders. I only ask that they shall remember in their turn that the reward must come for service to the community as a whole, and that it should not be too wholly disproportionate to the service rendered.

As I am speaking to human beings and about human beings it ought to be, but probably is not, needless for me to say that I don't expect perfect justice under no

matter what system of law we are able to give, but it is possible to strive to make an approximation toward such justice. The captain of industry who acquires a fortune by rendering great service to the community is entitled to an ample reward. The man who makes a fortune not by service, but by swindling the community is not entitled to any reward at all. In the Civil War men who rose to command, who were fit for the service, rose on their own merits from any position, without any aid but what their powers gave them, and they were not obliged to struggle against men who were helped by outside circumstance. Grant began the war with no friends whatever. Sherman's early career in the Civil War impressed well-meaning but stodgy outsiders with the view that he was a lunatic. Farragut was an old man when the war opened who was thought well of but not regarded as of any particular note. Each of those men won his position in the end unhelped by any privilege himself, and finally unhampered by any privilege in any one else.

Now that is what I want to see in civil life as far as it is possible to bring it about. I wish to see the conditions so shaped that each man shall be given a fair chance to show what is in him, unhelped by privilege himself, and not hampered by privilege in others. I know perfectly well that men in a race run at unequal rates of speed. I don't want the prize to go to the man who is not fast enough to win it on his merits, but I want them to start fair. That's all. I want to guide, to shape things so, to shape legislation, to shape our social conditions so—not that man shall be excused for being lazy, timid, incompetent—not a bit. The most cruel form of injustice that can be devised would be to give a man who has not earned it the reward that ought

to come only to the man who has earned it. I don't want to encourage that type of man, but I want, as far as it is humanly possible, to secure an equality of conditions for each man to show whether or not he is of that type of man.

Surely then, after all, that aspiration or that policy only represents the effort to realize the purposes of the founders of this government. It represents nothing but the effort to treat man on his worth as a man, and that is the corner-stone upon which this Republic was founded, the corner-stone of equal rights for all and special privileges for none.

And, friends, I care for the fact and not in the least for the formula. You hear a great deal of discussion about national rights and State rights. Very good. I'm for both. I am for the rights of the people. I am for popular rights and where they can best be obtained by the exercise of State rights I am a good States'-rights man; and where they can best be obtained by the exercise of the power of the nation I am a nationalist. I believe in national rights. In other words, I treat national rights and States' rights as not in themselves ends, but as means to the end; as means to the end of securing better government and justice as between man and man.

And another thing, friends. In warring against such, and bearing testimony as every one of us ought to do against what is bad, keep two sets of facts distinctly in your mind. There is first of all the evil that comes because the man himself is a cheat, is a crook, because he does not obey the rules of the game. He disobeys them; he cheats. In that case attack him, punish him. If he is a man guilty of moral shortcomings who offends against the laws, who does that which is clearly not

right, punish him. That's the way to go at that kind of wrong. Punish the individual. But if you find that the wrong committed is committed by every man, by practically every man placed under given conditions, and if you find that it is a wrong which is not recognized as such under the rules of our commercial and political life, then don't waste your time in attacking the man. Change the rules of the game. If the man cheats under the rules, punish him, but if the rules are such as to encourage cheating, change the rules. Don't waste your time in abusing the man for doing what practically every man would do in his place. Change the rules. And remember the far-reaching truth of Abraham Lincoln's statement that there is a deal of human nature in mankind. Big men are not worth more than little men, or better. They are bigger; that is all.

The type of man who if he is a deacon and owns a crossroads store you have to watch, is the same type of man you have to watch if he owns a business of a couple of hundred millions. He is not any worse than the crossroads-store man. He is bigger, that's all. On the one hand, distrust the creature who never can find anything to blame unless the man is a man of great wealth. Make up your mind that the individual who inveighs against iniquity only when it is found in men of great wealth is a mighty unsafe person to tie to. And on the other hand, distrust equally the publicist or man of affairs who holds up his hands with horror at the misdeeds of the grafting policeman or labor leader, but is totally unable to see any wrong in any operation carried on in the Street.

Now there is no moral difference between the deeds of the bad big man and the bad little man, but there is a great practical difference in the method by which

we should treat those misdeeds. I have spoken of the grocer. Now each of us deals with the baker, the butcher, the grocer, the blacksmith, the carpenter, and various men like that; and substantially that man is a man of our own size. If the grocer cheats us, after a candid expression of our opinion of him we go to another grocer. It is so with the blacksmith, carpenter, or whoever it is, and in return if we don't pay our bills he won't give us groceries. He can deal with us and we can deal with him as long as we are both substantially of the same size. But supposing that he grows so that he has a fortune invested in business of two or three or four hundred millions of dollars. That fortune is then put into corporate form for its business use and you have a great coal business or oil business or a great railroad running through several States, or a corporation owning one or more railroads and other lines of transportation. Now in that case no one of us can deal by himself with that new entity, with that giant corporation, because it is not any longer our size. It is too big for any one of us to deal with, and the mere fact of the difference in size has made not merely a difference in degree but a difference in kind.

As regards the method proper to deal with the new conditions we have to create in our turn a new personality as big as the new personality with which we have to deal. If the operation of the business is purely within the lines of the State, then use the collective power of the State. If, on the other hand, the new individual is a big corporation, which does an interstate business on a giant scale, then there is only one man big enough to be bigger than that individual, and that is Uncle Sam. And so we bring in Uncle Sam. And now what I have to say applies as much to the State government as to

the National Government, but for the moment I summarize them both with Uncle Sam's name.

Now the way that Uncle Sam should treat that corporation is outlined perfectly clearly by the course of conduct which each of us recognizes as proper in treating the individual with whom he deals in ordinary business relations. Here is your grocer, your baker, your butcher. On the one hand, you demand that he gives you value for your money. On the other hand, you, if you are wise, expect him to make a profit out of it. The butcher won't serve you purely for love if he doesn't get a living for himself, his wife, and his children. He will starve, or stop being a butcher. Now that seems elemental, but there are certain reformers to whom I think it should be taught as an A, B, C. So that you must expect a man with whom you deal to make a profit out of the dealing with you. On the other hand, if you pay his bills without looking at them you don't show yourself to have a soft heart; you show that you have a soft head. It is not a case of generosity on your part. Now that is exactly how Uncle Sam, as regards the great interstate corporations, or the State governments and in the State as regards the State corporations, should behave. On the one hand, they should demand good service as an adequate return to the people as a whole for the privileges they enjoy in doing business with them. On the other hand, they should just as scrupulously remember the rights of the corporation as the rights of the people and we never shall get real justice, we never shall get the proper kind, the proper attitude, the proper way of dealing with the public through big corporations till we, the people as a whole, drill our public servants into the habit of treating the corporations with the exact measure of justice

which they demand from us. Until the people treat a failure to do justice to the corporation as being just as much of a blot on the career of the public man as the failure to exact justice from the corporation, they won't get straight, honest service either from their public men or from the corporations.

Now that's a doctrine I have preached everywhere and I want to elaborate on it for just a moment. In the first place, as regards the corporations, it is perfectly idle to contend that corporations are abused things, that they have tried to handle themselves rightly in times past. They have done a great deal of iniquity in times past. Many of them are doing a great deal of iniquity now. A corporation is entitled to its rights, but that right does not include the right to vote or the right to control a legislature or an executive.

On the other hand, remember that if you fail to do justice to the corporation the effect is twofold; you gradually drive out of existence the corporation whose directors and managers will not do what is corrupt, and you gradually drive corporate directors and managers of a less exalted standard of private morality into practices that are corrupt.

The other day I was speaking with a representative of a certain corporation in one of our States where a real effort had been made by the corporation to withdraw entirely from politics and from improper efforts to influence public men, especially the legislature, and where the corporation is threatened with a good deal of trouble with those who tell you, in the language quoted to me, that they "feel lonely without a railroad issue." That is, there are a certain number of public men who having posed sincerely or insincerely, or with a mixture of both sincerity or insincerity, for many years, as

tribunes of the people against the corrupt and overbearing corporation, find themselves without an occupation, when the corporation ceases to be corrupt or overbearing, and who have a tendency to go on and act just as if the corporation still continued to be guilty of abuses which they set out to remedy.

I feel in the very strongest way that it is essential to have thoroughgoing, far-reaching, efficient control of the great corporations; but I feel that such control will be a damage and not a help to the community as a whole unless it is exercised with the same scrupulous regard to the rights of the big corporations as to the rights of the people as a whole. I feel that the public man—that any public man—can't do his duty to the people unless in circumstances like that he is scrupulous in acting fairly and squarely with the corporation.

Mr. Chief Justice, I feel like saying with Patrick Henry, to paraphrase it: "If this is anarchy, make the most of it."

Now there has been a great deal of loose talk about changes in our system of government, and any proposition to exercise the power of the State on behalf of the public as against great corporations or on behalf of the wage-workers as against the employing capitalists is often spoken of as an innovation and even as an outrage upon the principles of the Constitution. It is neither. It is not an innovation in the sense of bringing into existence a new principle. It is merely the application of an old principle to new conditions. The Constitution was defined by Marshall in substance as being an instrument to assist in the growth of the nation; not as a strait-jacket to prevent its growth.

Take such a question as the control of the nation over the great corporation doing an interstate business.

Few but students of constitutional history remember that the occasion and the prime reason for the founding of the Constitution was to enable the central government to take charge of all foreign trade and all interstate trade. That was the reason and it was the prime reason why our people reluctantly consented to establish a constitutional government, and the effort to get a more complete national control over all the activities of interstate commerce represents not an effort to do something new, uncontemplated by the Constitution, but an effort to accomplish the purpose of the Constitution by applying it to conditions which have arisen since the Constitution was adopted.

So as regards all questions concerning the effort to secure a better and a higher standard of living, of remuneration, of safety, for wage-workers. A century and a quarter ago when there were no big cities, no factories, no mines, no railroads; when the normal relations of capitalists and laborers were those of employers and the hired help, you didn't need legislation to secure the rights of the employee. Now such legislation is imperatively necessary. To give such legislation is not to work a revolution in the Constitution; it is simply to carry out the purpose of the Constitution by facing the fact that new needs exist and that new methods must be devised for reaching these new needs.

It would be entirely wrong for us as a nation or for us as individuals to neglect our self-interest. Until a man can pull his own weight he can't help any one else pull anything. I have no use at all for the type of reformer who seeks to have everybody do something for somebody else before the individual is able to do anything for himself. We all of us know that type. I wouldn't for a moment be misunderstood as asking you

not to regard each man his own material interests. He must take care of himself in order that he may be of use to any other persons. And with a nation as with the individual a certain amount of material prosperity is absolutely essential as a foundation upon which everything must be raised. I admit that. I not only admit it, but I insist on it. I have no sympathy with the man who denies the need of preaching the fact that the first thing to be done is practically to be able to carry each man his own weight. But that is not enough. If the community is absorbed solely in material prosperity, that community can have only a sordid type of life. And I tell you here and I tell the men like you, more than any others in the whole community, in the whole country, it behooves you to remember that material prosperity is a means and not an end. The man who earns each day his bread by that day's labor has not the opportunity to do much for his fellow men. The men who have risen above that scale, the man who has a certain amount of wealth, who is willing to do, who belongs to the life that is represented here to-night, is the man to whom we must look for disinterested labor, effort, and leadership if there is to be genuine progress in our great Commonwealth.

And I appeal to you men here to-night to remember that the forces striving for a betterment of social conditions and economic conditions in our country are certain to find an outlet of some kind. The movement is certain to go forward. The question is merely will it go forward wisely or will it go forward foolishly. And that question will be answered one way or the other, largely in accordance with the attitude of men such as those I am addressing to-night. If you and those like you adopt the attitude of solid and sordid content and

self-satisfaction, if you feel that you have no duty to perform to those less well off, if you feel you owe nothing to them in the way of help, of leadership and guidance, if you feel that you owe nothing to yourself but the satisfaction of the wants of the body or at most the satisfaction to be found in selfish intellectual enjoyment, then the movement of which I speak, while it will come to fruition, may come to it in dark and devious ways. I ask you therefore to remember that a foundation of material prosperity is of use only as a foundation, and that upon it must be built the superstructure of a higher life. I ask you to remember that you will be judged largely by the way in which you render service to the community as a whole. I don't ask you to give up the joys of living. The highest joy of living is to be found in the rendering of service, in the doing well of the thing best worth doing. I ask you to find that highest joy not merely in working each one of us for his own individual advancement, but in remembering each of us not only his duty to himself, which we must remember, but his duty to his fellows. Much has been given to you and much will be expected.

Our fathers in this country have solved a great many great questions. To us of this generation other great questions are presented and they are pressing for solution. It rests with you and with men like you to say whether or not that solution shall come wisely and with reasonable speed, or be delayed and come in ways that will mean, perhaps, untold evil for the country as a whole.

I expect, I desire, that each man shall remember his duty to himself, but I ask also that all here and all those like you elsewhere throughout the length and breadth of this land shall realize your opportunities for leader-

ship, and shall work for the common good with the genuine belief deep in your souls that no work worth doing can be done for the nation unless it is done in accordance with the belief that righteousness exalteth a nation.

15

THE LIVING WAGE AND THE LIVING RATE *

Recently certain railway men petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission to be allowed to raise rates. It is announced that the Interstate Commerce Commission is to look into the case. This makes it opportune to say a word or two on the subject; for the ability of the honestly managed railways of the country to render good service to the public and to pay good wages to their employees ultimately depends upon there being a reasonable return to the honest investors, which means that the railways must possess a good earning power, which largely depends on the rates. The very big investor, like the very big shipper and the very high-grade wage-worker, can usually get along somehow even under adverse conditions; but for the sake of the small or ordinary investor there is need of a living rate just as there is need of a living wage for the average working man. The living wage and the living rate are interdependent.

There are railways which have been so foolishly or so corruptly organized and managed that it is impossible for investors in them to get adequate return for their investments; just as it would be impossible for them to do so if they had acted foolishly, or had been the victims of swindling, in connection with a dry-goods store, or any other business enterprise. The public must not be expected to sacrifice its own interests and the interests of wage-workers in order to pay dividends

* *The Outlook*, July 5, 1913.

on watered stock, or to secure promoters and managers against the consequences of their own folly. What I have to say does not concern railways of this stamp.

But it must be a cardinal principle in dealing with honestly built and wisely managed railways that the investor, the shareholder, is just as much entitled to protection as is the wage-worker, the shipper, or the representatives of the general public. Unless the investor finds that he is to get a fair return on his money, he will not invest, and in such case not only will no new railways be built but existing railways will not be able to repair the waste, the wear and tear, to which they are subject, and will not be able to make needed improvements. All governmental action, whether by the legislature or the executive, should be conditioned upon keeping in view this fact.

By actual experience it has been found that it is unsafe to leave the wage-worker, the shipper, and the general public, and furthermore that it is unsafe to leave the small investor himself, at the mercy of the big men who manage railways. But on certain points the interests of the big man and the small investor are identical. On certain other points the interests of both of them are identical with those of the wage-worker. On all points the only way of securing permanent justice to each class is by giving permanent justice to all classes. The public can be well served, and the wage-workers can be well paid, only if the railway is successful, that is, if there is such certainty of reasonable dividends as to make investors content, and therefore willing and desirous to invest in further developments and enterprises.

This is a sufficiently obvious fact, but it is a fact often in practice forgotten. In certain cases workmen's

compensation laws and full crew bills are passed by legislatures at the same time that rates are reduced by commissions, or indeed sometimes by legislative enactment, until the property ceases to pay. Now a cardinal point made by all enlightened advocates of such laws as workmen's compensation and the like has always been that the burden is to be distributed through the corporation upon the public. Public service commissions are created for the very purpose of supervising, controlling, and regulating the activities of the railways so that they shall not only be obliged to treat their employees, the shareholders, and the general public fairly, but shall be guaranteed fair treatment themselves in return. Some railways are so remunerative that it is fair to reduce their rates at the same time that we increase their burdens. There are other railways as to which the only effective way to distribute the burden of payment for extra safety to employees and the public, and extra compensation to and care of the workers, is by rendering the service more remunerative; and this may of necessity mean raising rates. It is just as much the duty of the commission to permit rates to be raised when the raise is justifiable as to require them to be lowered if the lowering is justifiable. The commission is created precisely because this is the kind of work it can and ought to do, and the kind of work that no legislative body could with wisdom perform. The commission is no true servant of the public unless it unhesitatingly raises the rates when justice in the public interest requires such action, and unhesitatingly lowers the rates when this is the course which will ultimately best meet the public needs.

This is merely part of the general doctrine of administrative control of big corporations. The control

should not be hostile to the corporation; it should merely be hostile to any misconduct on the part of the corporation, and it should protect the corporation against misconduct aimed at it exactly as it protects others from misconduct committed by it. Unless the corporation makes money—that is, unless business men are prosperous—there will be no money to give in proper wages for the wage-worker, there will be no money with which to provide for his protection and to insure him against loss and damage, and no money wherewith to render proper service to the customers and to the public as a whole. Whether the reward comes in the way of big salary to the big manager who makes the business a success, or of dividends to the big or small man who invests money in it, the principle is the same. Our purpose is to see that there is a proper division of prosperity. But there can be no division unless the prosperity is there to divide. One of the methods by which the prosperity will certainly be abolished is to draw the line against size and efficiency instead of against misconduct. Another way to destroy it is to impose burdens, however necessary and proper, without facing the fact that some one must pay for the burdens, and that if the investor cannot pay for them and at the same time get a reasonable return on his investment, then either the business will close or the public must share the burden with the investor.

In the concrete case before us it is for the commission to determine with strict justice to all parties how the relative and often conflicting demands of the shareholders, the wage-workers, the shippers, and the general public can properly be met. I am not discussing —I have not the knowledge which would warrant my discussing—whether the rates should be raised. If the

facts do not warrant a raise, then the raise should not be permitted; but if justice and the interest of our people as a whole demand a raise in rates, then that raise in rates should unhesitatingly be authorized.

IV

CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

16

THE FOREST PROBLEM *

I HAVE felt that this evening the meeting was of such a character as not merely to warrant but in a sense require that I should break through my custom of not coming out to make speeches of this sort. For I believe there are few bodies of men who have it in their power to do a greater service to the country than those engaged in the scientific study and practical application of improved methods of forestry for the preservation of our woods in the United States. I am glad to see here this evening not only the officials, including the head, of the Department of Agriculture, but those, like Governor Richards, most concerned in carrying out the policy of the Department of the Interior.

First and foremost, you can never afford to forget for one moment what is the object of the forest policy. Primarily that object is not to preserve forests because they are beautiful—though that is good in itself—not to preserve them because they are refuges for the wild creatures of the wilderness—though that too is good in itself—but the primary object of the forest policy as of the land policy of the United States, is the making of prosperous homes, is part of the traditional policy of home-making of our country. Every other consideration comes as secondary. The whole effort of the government in dealing with the forests must be directed to this end, keeping in view the fact that it is not only

* Address at a meeting of the Society of American Foresters, Washington, D. C., March 26, 1903.

necessary to start the homes as prosperous, but to keep them so. That is the way the forests have need to be kept. You can start a prosperous home by destroying the forest, but you do not keep it. You will be able to make that policy permanently the policy of the country only in so far as you are able to make the people at large, and then all the people concretely, interested in the results in the different localities, appreciative of what it means; give them a full recognition of its value, and make them earnest and zealous adherents of it. Keep that in mind too. In a government such as ours it is out of the question to impose a policy like this upon the people from without. A permanent policy can come only from the intelligent conviction of the people themselves that it is wise, and useful; nay, indispensable. We shall decide in the long run whether we will or will not preserve the forests of the Rocky Mountains accordingly as we are or are not able to make the people of the States around the mountains, in their neighborhood, hearty believers in the policy of forest preservation. This is the only way in which this policy can be made a permanent success. In other words, you must convince the people of the truth—and it is the truth—that the success of home-makers depends in the long run upon the wisdom with which the nation takes care of its forests. That seems a strong statement. It is none too strong. There are small sections of this country where what is done with the woodlands makes no difference; but over the great extent of the country the ultimate well-being of the home-maker will depend in very large part upon the intelligent use made of the forests. In other words, you, yourselves, must keep this practical object before your mind. You must remember that the forest which contributes nothing to

the wealth, progress, or safety of the country is of no interest to the government, and it should be of little to the forester. Your attention should be directed not to the preservation of the forests as an end in itself, but as the means for preserving and increasing the prosperity of the nation. Forestry is the preservation of forests by wise use. We shall succeed, not by preventing the use, but by making the forests of use to the settler, the rancher, the miner, the man who lives in the neighborhood, and indirectly the man who may live hundreds of miles off, down the course of some great river which has its rise among the forests.

The forest problem is in many ways the most vital internal problem of the United States. The more closely this statement is examined the more evident its truth becomes. In the arid regions of the West agricultural prosperity depends first of all upon the available water-supply. Forest protection alone can maintain the stream flow necessary for irrigation in the West and prevent floods destructive to agriculture and manufactures in the East. The relation between forests and the whole mineral industry is an extremely intimate one, for mines cannot be developed without timber, and usually not without timber close at hand. In many regions of the West ore is more abundant than wood, and where the ore is of low grade, transportation of the necessary mine timbers from a distance is out of the question. The use of the mine is strictly limited to the man who has timber available close at hand. The very existence of lumbering, the fourth great industry of the United States, depends upon the success of your work and our work as a nation in putting practical forestry into effective operation.

As it is with mining and lumbering, so it is in only

less degree with transportation, manufacture, and commerce in general. The relation of all these industries to the forests is of the most intimate and dependent kind. It is a matter for congratulation that so many of these great interests are waking up to this fact. The railroads, especially, managed as they are by men who are obliged by the very nature of their profession to possess insight into the future, have awakened to a clearer realization of the vast importance of economical use both of timber and of forests. Even the grazing industry, as it is carried out in the great West, which might at first sight appear to have little relation to forestry, is nevertheless closely related to it, because great areas of winter range would be entirely useless without the summer range in the mountains, where the forest reserves lie.

The forest resources of our country are already seriously depleted. They can be renewed and maintained only by the co-operation of the forester and the lumberman. The most striking and encouraging fact in the forest situation is that lumbermen are realizing that practical lumbering and practical forestry are allies and not enemies, and that the future of each depends upon the other. The resolutions passed at the last great meeting of the representative lumber interests held here in Washington are strong proof of this fact and the most encouraging feature of the present situation. As long as we could not make the men concerned in the great lumbering industry realize that the foresters were endeavoring to work in their interests and not against them, the headway that could be made was but small. And we will be able to work effectively to bring about immediate results of permanent importance largely in proportion as we are able to convince the men at the

head of that great business of the practical wisdom of what the foresters of the United States are seeking to accomplish. In the last analysis, the attitude of the lumbermen toward your work will be the chief factor of the success or failure of that work. In other words, gentlemen, I cannot too often say to you, as indeed it cannot be too often said to any body of men of high ideals and of scientific training who are endeavoring to accomplish work of real worth for the country, you must keep your ideals, and yet seek to realize them in practical ways.

The United States is exhausting its forest supplies far more rapidly than they are being produced. The situation is a grave one, and there is but one remedy. That remedy is the introduction of practical forestry on a large scale, and of course that is impossible without trained men; men trained in the closet and trained by actual field-work, under practical conditions. You will have created a new profession; a profession of the highest importance; a profession of the highest usefulness toward the State; and you are in honor bound to yourselves and to the people to make your profession stand as high as the profession of law, as the profession of medicine, as any other profession most intimately connected with our highest and finest development as a nation. You are engaged in pioneer work in a calling whose opportunities for public service are very great. Treat the calling seriously; remember how much it means for the country as a whole; remember that if you do your work in crude fashion, if you only half learn your profession, you discredit it as well as yourselves. Give yourselves every chance by thorough and generous preparation and by acquiring not only a thorough knowledge, but a wide outlook over all the questions

on which you have to touch. The profession which you have adopted is one which touches the Republic on almost every side, political, social, industrial, commercial; and to rise to its level you will need a wide acquaintance with the general life of the nation, and a view-point both broad and high. Any profession which makes you deal with your fellow men at large makes it necessary that, if you are to succeed, you should understand what these fellow men are, and not merely what they are thought to be by people who live in the closet and the parlor. You must know who the men are with whom you are acting; how they feel; how far you can go; when you have to stop; when it is necessary to push on; you must know all of these things if you are going to do work of the highest value.

I believe that the foresters of the United States will create and apply a more effective system of forestry than we have yet seen. If you don't, gentlemen, I will feel that you have fallen behind your brethren of other callings; and I don't believe you will fall behind them. Nowhere else is the development of a country more closely bound up with the creation and execution of a judicious forest policy. This is of course especially true of the West; but it is true of the East also. Fortunately in the West we have been able relatively to the growth of the country to begin at an earlier day; so that we have been able to provide great forest reserves in the Rocky Mountains, instead of waiting and attempting to get Congress to pay a very large sum for their creation, as we are now endeavoring to do in the Southern Appalachians. In the administration of the national forest reserves, the introduction of conservative lumbering on the timber tract of the lumberman and the wood-lot of the farmer, in the practical solution of forest

problems which affect every industry and every activity of the nation, the members of this society have an unexampled field before them. You have heavy responsibilities—every man that does any work that is worth doing has a heavy responsibility—for upon the quality of your work the development of forestry in the United States and the protection of the industries which depend upon it will largely rest. You have made a good beginning, and I congratulate you upon it. Not only is a sound national forest policy coming rapidly into being, but the lumbermen of the country are proving their interest in forestry by practising it. Twenty years ago a meeting such as this to-night would have been impossible, and the desires we hear expressed would have been treated as having no possible relation to practical life. I think, Mr. Secretary, that since you first came into Congress here there has been a complete revolution in the attitude of public men toward this question. We have reached a point where American foresters, trained in American forest schools, are attacking American forest problems with success. That is the way to meet the larger work you have before you. It is a work of peculiar difficulty, because precedents are lacking. It will demand training, steadiness, devotion, and above all *esprit de corps*, fealty to the body of which you are members, zeal to keep the practice as well as the ideals of that body high. The more harmoniously you work with each other, the better your work will be. And above all a condition precedent upon your usefulness to the body politic as a whole is the way in which you are able both to instil your own ideals into the mass of your fellow men with whom you come in contact, and at the same time to show your ability to work in practical fashion with them; to convince them

that as a business matter it will pay for them to co-operate with you; to convince the public of that, and then also so to convince the people of the localities, of the neighborhoods in which you work, and especially the lumbermen and all others who make their life trades dealing with the forests.

17

FORESTRY AND BUSINESS *

It is a pleasure to greet all of you here this afternoon, but of course especially the members of the American Forest Congress. You have made, by your coming, a meeting which is without parallel in the history of forestry. And, Mr. Secretary,† I must take this opportunity of saying to you what you so amply deserve, that no man in this country has done so much as you have done in the last eight years to make it possible to take a business view from the standpoint of all the country of just such questions as this. It is not many years since such a meeting as this would have been regarded as chimerical; the thought of it would have been regarded as absolutely chimerical. In the old pioneer days the American had but one thought about a tree, and that was to cut it down; and the mental attitude of the nation toward the forests was largely conditioned upon the fact that the life-work of the earlier generations of our people had been of necessity to hew down the forests, for they had to make clearings on which to live; and it was not until half a century of our national life had passed that any considerable body of American citizens began to live under conditions where the tree ceased to be something to be cleared off the earth. It always takes time to get the mind of a people accustomed to any change in conditions, and it took a long time to get the mind of our people, as a whole, accustomed to the fact that they had to alter their attitude

* Address to the Forest Congress, Washington, D. C., Jan. 5, 1905.
† James Wilson, secretary of agriculture.

toward the forests. For the first time the great business and the forest interests of the nation have joined together, through delegates altogether worthy of the organizations they represent, to consider their individual and their common interests in the forest. This congress may well be called a meeting of forest users, for that the users of the forest come together to consider how best to combine use with preservation is the significant fact of the meeting, the fact full of powerful promise for the forests of the future.

The producers, the manufacturers, and the great common carriers of the nation had long failed to realize their true and vital relation to the great forests of the United States, and the forests and industries both suffered from that failure. The suffering of the industries in such case comes after the destruction of the forests, but it is just as inevitable as that destruction. If the forest is destroyed it is only a question of a relatively short time before the business interests suffer in consequence. All of you know that there is opportunity in any new country for the development of the type of temporary inhabitant whose idea is to skin the country and go somewhere else. You all know, and especially those of you from the West, the individual whose idea of developing the country is to cut every stick of timber off of it and then leave a barren desert for the home-maker who comes in after him. That man is a curse and not a blessing to the country. The prop of the country must be the business man who intends so to run his business that it will be profitable for his children after him. That is the type of business that it is worth while to develop. The time of indifference and misunderstanding has gone by. Your coming is a very great step toward the solution of the forest problem—

a problem which cannot be settled until it is settled right. And it cannot be settled right until the forces which bring that settlement about come, not from the government, not even from the newspapers and from public sentiment in general, but from the active, intelligent, and effective interest of the men to whom the forest is important from the business point of view, because they use it and its product and whose interest is therefore concrete instead of general and diffuse. I do not in the least underrate the power of an awakened public opinion; but in the final test it will be the attitude of the industries of the country which more than anything else will determine whether or not our forests are to be preserved. It is because of their recognition of that prime material fact that so much has been accomplished, Mr. Wilson, by those interested under you and in the other departments of the government in the preservation of the forests. We want the active and zealous help of every man far-sighted enough to realize the importance from the standpoint of the nation's welfare in the future of preserving the forests; but that help by itself will not avail. It will not even be the main factor in bringing about the result toward which we are striving; the main factor must come from the intelligence of the business interests concerned, so that the manufacturer, the railway man, the miner, the lumberman, the dealer in lumber, shall appreciate that it is of direct interest to them to preserve through use instead of waste, the great resources upon which they depend for the successful development of their business. This is true because by far the greater part of all our forests must pass into the hands of forest users, whether directly or through the government, which will continue to hold some of them, but only as trustee. The forest

is for use, and its users will decide its future. It was only a few years ago that the practical lumberman felt that the forest expert was a man who wished to see the forests preserved as bric-à-brac, and the American business man was not prepared to do much from the bric-à-brac standpoint. Now, I think, we have got a working agreement between the forester and the business man whose business is the use of the forest. We have got them to come together with the understanding that they must work for a common end, work to see the forest preserved for use. The great significance of this congress comes from the fact that henceforth the movement for the conservative use of the forest is to come mainly from within, not from without; from the men who are actively interested in the use of the forest in one way or another, even more than from those whose interest is philanthropic and general. The difference means, as the difference in such a case always does mean, to a large extent the difference between mere agitation and actual execution, between the hope of accomplishment and the thing done. We believe that at last forces have been set in motion which will convert the once distant prospect of the conservation of the forest by wise use into the practical accomplishment of that great end; and of this most hopeful and significant fact the coming together of this congress is the sufficient proof.

I shall not pretend this afternoon to even describe to you the place of the forest in the life of any nation, and especially of its place in the United States. The great industries of agriculture, transportation, mining, grazing, and, of course, lumbering, are each one of them vitally and immediately dependent upon wood, water, or grass from the forest. The manufacturing industries,

whether or not wood enters directly into their finished product, are scarcely, if at all, less dependent upon the forest than those whose connection with it is obvious and direct. Wood is an indispensable part of the material structure upon which civilization rests; and it is to be remembered always that the immense increase of the use of iron and substitutes for wood in many structures, while it has meant a relative decrease in the amount of wood used, has been accompanied by an absolute increase in the amount of wood used. More wood is used than ever before in our history. Thus, the consumption of wood in shipbuilding is far larger than it was before the discovery of the art of building iron ships, because vastly more ships are built. Larger supplies of building lumber are required, directly or indirectly, for use in the construction of the brick and stone structures of great modern cities than were consumed by the comparatively few and comparatively small wooden buildings in the earlier stages of these same cities. It is as sure as anything can be that we will see in the future a steadily increasing demand for wood in our manufacturing industries. There is one point I want to speak about in addition to the uses of the forest to which I have already alluded. Those of us who have lived on the great plains, who are acquainted with the conditions in parts of Oklahoma, Nebraska, Kansas, and the Dakotas, know that wood forms an immensely portentous element in helping the farmer on these plains battle against his worst enemy—wind. The use of forests as windbreaks out on the plains, where the tree does not grow unless men help it, is of enormous importance, and, Mr. Wilson, among the many services performed by the public-spirited statesman who once occupied the position that you now

hold, none was greater that what the late secretary of agriculture, Mr. Morton, did in teaching, by actual example as well as by precept, the people of the treeless regions the immense advantage of the cultivation of trees. When wood, dead or alive, is demanded in so many ways, and when this demand will undoubtedly increase, it is a fair question, then, whether the vast demands of the future upon our forests are likely to be met. You are mighty poor Americans if your care for the well-being of this country is limited to hoping that that well-being will last out your own generation. No man, here or elsewhere, is entitled to call himself a decent citizen if he does not try to do his part toward seeing that our national policies are shaped for the advantage of our children and our children's children. Our country, we have faith to believe, is only at the beginning of its growth. Unless the forests of the United States can be made ready to meet the vast demands which this growth will inevitably bring, commercial disaster, that means disaster to the whole country, is inevitable. The railroads must have ties, and the general opinion is that no efficient substitute for wood for this purpose has been devised. The miner must have timber or he cannot operate his mine, and in very many cases the profit which mining yields is directly proportionate to the cost of timber-supply. The farmer, East and West, must have timber for numberless uses on his farm, and he must be protected, by forest cover upon the headwaters of the streams he uses, against floods in the East, and the lack of water for irrigation in the West. The stockman must have fence posts, and very often he must have summer range for his stock in the national forest reserves. In a word, both the production of the great staples upon which our prosperity de-

pends and their movement in commerce throughout the United States are inseparably dependent upon the existence of permanent and suitable supplies from the forest at a reasonable cost.

If the present rate of forest destruction is allowed to continue, with nothing to offset it, a timber famine in the future is inevitable. Fire, wasteful and destructive forms of lumbering, and the legitimate use, taken together, are destroying our forest resources far more rapidly than they are being replaced. It is difficult to imagine what such a timber famine would mean to our resources. And the period of recovery from the injuries which a timber famine would entail would be measured by the slow growth of the trees themselves. Remember that you can prevent such a timber famine occurring by wise action taken in time, but once the famine occurs there is no possible way of hurrying the growth of the trees necessary to relieve it. You have got to act in time or else the nation would have to submit to prolonged suffering after it had become too late for forethought to avail. Fortunately, the remedy is a simple one, and your presence here to-day is a most encouraging sign that there will be such forethought. It is the great merit of the Department of Agriculture in the forest work that its efforts have been directed to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the users of wood, water, and grass, and to show that forestry will and does pay, rather than to exhaust itself in the futile attempt to introduce conservative methods by any other means. I believe most emphatically in sentiment, but I want the sentiment to be put into co-operation with the business interests, and that is what is being done. The policy is one of helpfulness throughout, and never of hostility or coercion toward any legitimate interest

whatsoever. In the very nature of things it can make little progress apart from you. Whatever it may be possible for the government to accomplish, its work must ultimately fail unless your interest and support give it permanence and power. It is only as the producing and commercial interests of the country come to realize that they need to have trees growing up in the forest not less than they need the product of the trees cut down that we may hope to see the permanent prosperity of both safely secured.

This statement is true not only as to forests in private ownership, but as to the national forests as well. Unless the men from the West believe in forest preservation the Western forests cannot be preserved. We here at the headquarters of the National Government recognize that absolutely. We believe, we know, that it is essential for the well-being of the people of the States of the great plains, the States of the Rockies, the States of the Pacific slope, that the forests shall be preserved, and we know also that our belief will count for nothing unless the people of those States themselves wish to preserve the forests. If they do we can help materially; we can direct their efforts, but we cannot save the forests unless they wish them to be saved.

I ask, with all the intensity that I am capable of, that the men of the West remember the sharp distinction I have just drawn between the man who skins the land and the man who develops the country. I am going to work with, and only with, the man who develops the country. I am against the land-skinner every time. Our policy is consistent to give to every portion of the public domain its highest possible amount of use, and of course that can be given only through the hearty cooperation of the Western people. I would like to add

one word as to the creation of a national forest service which I have recommended repeatedly in messages to Congress, and especially in my last. I wish to see all the forest work of the government concentrated in the Department of Agriculture. It is folly to scatter such work, as I have said over and over again, and the policy which this Administration is trying to carry out through the creation of such a service is that of making the national forests more actively and more permanently useful to the people of the West, and I am heartily glad to know that the Western sentiment supports more and more vigorously the policy of setting aside national forests, the creation of a national forest service, and especially the policy of increasing the permanent usefulness of these forest lands to all who come in contact with them. With what is rapidly getting to be a practically unbroken sentiment in the West behind such a forest policy, with what is rapidly getting to be a practically unbroken support by the great stable interests behind the general policy of the conservative use of the forests, we have a right to feel that we have entered on an era of great and lasting progress. Only entered upon it; much, very much, remains to be done; and as in every other department of human activity our debt of gratitude will be due, not to the amiable but short-sighted optimist who thinks you have made a good beginning and the end may take care of itself; still less to the man who sits at one side and says how poorly the work is being done by those who are doing it; but to the men who try, each in his own place, practically to forward this great work. That is the type of man who is going to do the work, and it is because I believe that we have enlisted the active, practical sympathy of just that kind of man in this work that I believe the future of this

policy to be bright and the permanence of our timber-supplies more nearly assured than at any previous time in our history. To the men represented in this congress this great result is primarily due. In closing, I wish to thank you who are here, not merely for what you are doing in this particular movement, but for the fact that you are illustrating what I hope I may call the typically American method of meeting questions of great and vital importance to the nation—the method of seeing whether the individuals particularly concerned cannot by getting together and co-operating with the government do infinitely more for themselves than it would be possible for any government under the sun to do for them. I believe in the future of this movement, because I think you have the right combination of qualities—the quality of individual initiative, the quality of individual resourcefulness, combined with the quality that enables you to come together for mutual help, and having so come, to work with the government; and I pledge you in the fullest measure the support of the government in what you are doing.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WATERWAYS *

UNDER any circumstances I should welcome the chance of speaking at Memphis in the old historic State of Tennessee, rich in its glorious past and in the certainty of an even greater future; but I especially congratulate myself that I am able to speak here on an occasion like this, when I meet not only the citizens of Tennessee, but many of the citizens of Mississippi and Arkansas and of other States as well; and when the chief executives of so many States are gathered to consider a subject of momentous interest to all. The Mississippi valley is a magnificent empire in size and fertility. It is better adapted to the development of inland navigation than any other valley in either hemisphere; for there are twelve thousand miles of waterway now more or less fully navigable, and the conditions are so favorable that it will be easy to increase the extent of navigable waterways to almost any required degree by canalization. Early in our industrial history this valley was the seat of the largest development of inland navigation in the United States, and perhaps you will pardon my mentioning that the first steamboat west of the Alleghanies was built by a Roosevelt, my great-grandfather's brother, in 1811, for the New Orleans trade, and in that year made the trip from Pittsburgh to New Orleans. But from various causes river and canal transportation declined all over the United States

* Address before the Deep Waterway Convention at Memphis, Tenn., October 4, 1907.

as the railroad systems came to their full development. It is our business to see that the decline is not permanent; and it is of interest to remember that nearly a century ago President Madison advocated the canalization of the Mississippi.

In wealth of natural resources no kingdom of Europe can compare with the Mississippi valley and the region around the Great Lakes, taken together, and in population this huge fertile plain already surpasses all save one or two of the largest European kingdoms. In this empire a peculiarly stalwart and masterful people finds itself in the surroundings best fitted for the full development of its powers and faculties. There has been a great growth in the valley of manufacturing centres; the movement is good if it does not go too far; but I most earnestly hope that this region as a whole will remain predominantly agricultural. The people who live in the country districts, and who till the small or medium-sized farms on which they live, make up what is on the whole the most valuable asset in our national life. There can be just as real progress and culture in the country as in the city; especially in these days of rural free delivery, trolleys, bicycles, telephones, good roads, and school improvements. The valley of the Mississippi is politically and commercially more important than any other valley on the face of the globe. Here more than anywhere else will be determined the future of the United States and indeed of the whole Western world; and the type of civilization reached in this mighty valley, in this vast stretch of country lying between the Alleghanies and the Rockies, the Great Lakes and the Gulf, will largely fix the type of civilization for the whole western hemisphere. Already, as our history shows, the West has determined our national

political development, and the fundamental principle of present American politics, political equality, was originally a Western idea.

The wonderful variety of resources in different portions of the valley makes the demand for transportation altogether exceptional. Coal, lumber, corn, wheat, cotton, cattle—on the surface of the soil and beneath the soil the riches are great. There are already evident strong tendencies to increase the carrying of freight from the northern part of the valley to the Gulf. Throughout the valley the land is so fertile as to make the field for the farmer peculiarly attractive; and where in the West the climate becomes drier we enter upon the ranching country; while in addition to the products of the soil there are also the manufactures supplied in innumerable manufacturing centres, great and small. Cities of astonishing growth are found everywhere from the Gulf to the Great Lakes, from the Alleghanies to the Rockies; most of them being situated on the great river which flows by your doors or upon some of its numerous navigable tributaries. New mineral fields are discovered every year; and the constantly increasing use of all the devices of intensive cultivation steadily adds to the productive power of the farms. Above all, the average man is honest, intelligent, self-reliant, and orderly, and therefore a good citizen; and farmer and wage-worker alike—in the last analysis the two most important men in the community—enjoy a standard of living, and have developed a standard of self-respecting, self-reliant manhood, which are of good augury for the future of the entire Republic. No man can foresee the limit of the possibility of development in the Mississippi valley.

Such being the case, and this valley being literally

the heart of the United States, all that concerns its welfare must concern likewise the whole country. Therefore, the Mississippi River and its tributaries ought by all means to be utilized to their utmost possibility. Facility of cheap transportation is an essential in our modern civilization, and we cannot afford any longer to neglect the great highways which nature has provided for us. These natural highways, the waterways, can never be monopolized by any corporation. They belong to all the people, and it is in the power of no one to take them away. Wherever a navigable river runs beside railroads the problem of regulating the rates on the railroads becomes far easier, because river regulation is rate regulation. When the water-rate sinks, the land-rate cannot be kept at an excessive height. Therefore it is of national importance to develop these streams as highways to the fullest extent which is genuinely profitable. Year by year transportation problems become more acute, and the time has come when the rivers really fit to serve as arteries of trade should be provided with channels deep enough and wide enough to make the investment of the necessary money profitable to the public. The National Government should undertake this work. Where the immediately abutting land is markedly benefited, and this benefit can be definitely localized, I trust that there will be careful investigation to see whether some way can be devised by which the immediate beneficiaries may pay a portion of the expenses—as is now the custom as regards certain classes of improvements in our municipalities; and measures should be taken to secure from the localities specially benefited proper terminal facilities. The expense to the nation of entering upon such a scheme of river improvement as that which I

believe it should undertake, will necessarily be great. Many cautious and conservative people will look askance upon the project, and from every standpoint it is necessary, if we wish to make it successful, that we should enter upon it only under conditions which will guarantee the nation against waste of its money, and which will insure us against entering upon any project until after the most elaborate expert examination, and reliable calculation of the proportion between cost and benefit. In any project like this there should be a definite policy, and a resolute purpose to keep in mind that the only improvements made should be those really national in their character. We should act on the same principle in improving our rivers that we should follow in improving our harbors. The great harbors are of consequence not merely to the immediate localities, but to immense stretches of country; and the same is true of the great rivers. It is these great rivers and great harbors the improvement of which is of primary national interest. The main streams should be improved to the highest practical degree of efficiency before improvements are attempted on the branches, and work should be undertaken only when completion is in sight within a reasonable time, so that assured results may be gained and the communities affected depend upon the improvements. Moreover, as an incident in caring for the river so that it may become an efficient channel of transportation, the United States Government should do its full part in levee-building, which, in the lower reaches of the river, will not only give a channel for commerce, but will also give protection to the adjacent bottom-lands.

Immense sums have already been spent upon the Mississippi by the States and the nation, yet much of it remains practically unused for commerce. The

reasons for this fact are many. One is that the work done by the National Government at least has not been based upon a definite and continuous plan. Appropriations by Congress, instead of assuring the steady progress and timely completion of each piece of work as it was undertaken, have been irregular and uncertain. As a direct consequence, far-reaching plans have been discouraged and continuity in execution has been made impossible. It is altogether unlikely that better results will be obtained so long as the method is followed of making partial appropriations at irregular intervals for works which should never be undertaken until it is certain that they can be carried to completion within a definite and reasonable time. Planned and orderly development is essential to the best use of every natural resource, and to none more than to the best use of our inland waterways. In the case of the waterways it has been conspicuously absent. Because such foresight was lacking, the interests of our rivers have been in fact overlooked, in spite of the immense sums spent upon them. It is evident that their most urgent need is a far-sighted and comprehensive plan, dealing not with navigation alone, nor with irrigation alone, but considering our inland waterways as a whole, and with reference to every use to which they can be put. The central motive of such a plan should be to get from the streams of the United States not only the fullest but also the most permanent service they are capable of rendering to the nation as a whole.

The industries developed under the stimulus of the railroads are for the most part permanent industries, and therefore they form the basis for future development. But the railroads have shown that they alone cannot meet the demands of the country for transpor-

tation, and where this is true the rivers should begin to supplement the railroads, to the benefit of both, by relieving them of certain of the less profitable classes of freight. The more far-seeing railroad men, I am glad to tell you, realize this fact, and many of them have become earnest advocates of the improvement of the Mississippi, so that it may become a sort of inland seaboard, extending from the Gulf far into the interior, and I hope ultimately to the Great Lakes. An investigation of the proposed Lakes-to-the-Gulf deep waterway is now in progress under an appropriation of the last Congress. We shall await its results with the keenest interest. The decision is obviously of capital importance to our internal development and scarcely less so in relation to external commerce.

This is but one of the many projects which it is time to consider, although a most important one. Plans for the improvement of our inland navigation may fairly begin with our greatest river and its chief tributaries, but they cannot end there. The lands which the Columbia drains include a vast area of rich grain-fields and fruit-lands, much of which is not easily reached by railways. The removal of obstructions in the Columbia and its chief tributaries would open to navigation and inexpensive freight transportation fully two thousand miles of channel. The Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers with their tidal openings into San Francisco Bay are partly navigable now. Their navigation should be maintained and improved, so as to open the marvellously rich valley of California to inexpensive traffic, in order to facilitate both rate regulation and the control of the waters for other purposes. And many other rivers of the United States demand improvement, so as better to meet the requirements of increasing produc-

tion from the soil, increasing manufacture, and a rapidly growing population.

While thus the improvement of inland navigation is a vital problem, there are other questions of no less consequence connected with our waterways. One of these relates to the purity of waters used for the supply of towns and cities, to the prevention of pollution by manufacturing and other industries, and to the protection of drainage areas from soil wash through forest covering or judicious cultivation. With our constantly increasing population this question becomes more and more pressing, because the health and safety of great bodies of citizens are directly involved.

Another important group of questions concerns the irrigation of arid lands, the prevention of floods, and the reclamation of swamps. Already many thousands of homes have been established on the arid regions, and the population and wealth of seventeen States and Territories have been largely increased through irrigation. Yet this means of national development is still in its infancy, and it will doubtless long continue to multiply homes and increase the productiveness and power of the nation. The reclamation of overflow lands and marshes, both in the interior and along the coasts, has already been carried on with admirable results, but in this field, too, scarcely more than a good beginning has yet been made. Still another fundamentally important question is that of water-power. Its significance in the future development of our whole country, and especially of the West, is but just beginning to be understood. The plan of the city of Los Angeles, for example, to bring water for its use a distance of nearly two hundred and fifty miles—perhaps the boldest project of the kind in modern times—promises not only to achieve its

purpose, but in addition to produce a water-power sufficiently valuable to pay large interest on the investment of over twenty-three million dollars.

Hitherto such opportunities for using water to double purpose have not always been seized. Thus it has recently been shown that water enough is flowing unused over government dams, built to improve navigation, to produce many hundreds of thousands of horsepower. It is computed that the annual value of the available but unused water-power in the United States exceeds the annual value of the products of all our mines. Furthermore, it is calculated that under judicious handling the power of our streams may be made to pay for all the works required for the complete development and control of our inland waterways.

Forests are the most effective preventers of floods, especially when they grow on the higher mountain slopes. The national forest policy, inaugurated primarily to avert or mitigate the timber famine which is now beginning to be felt, has been effective also in securing partial control of floods by retarding the run-off and checking the erosion of the higher slopes within the national forests. Still the loss from soil wash is enormous. It is computed that one-fifth of a cubic mile in volume, or one billion tons in weight of the richest soil matter of the United States, is annually gathered in storm rivulets, washed into the rivers, and borne into the sea. The loss to the farmer is in effect a tax greater than all other land taxes combined, and one yielding absolutely no return. The Department of Agriculture is now devising and testing means to check this enormous waste, through improved methods of agriculture and forest management.

Citizens of all portions of the country are coming to

realize that, however important the improvement of navigation may be, it is only one of many ends to be kept in view. The demand for navigation is hardly more pressing than the demands for reclaiming lands by irrigation in the arid regions and by drainage in the humid lowlands, or for utilizing the water-power now running to waste, or for purifying the waters so as to reduce or remove the tax of soil waste to promote manufactures and safeguard life. It is the part of wisdom to adopt not a jumble of unrelated plans, but a single comprehensive scheme for meeting all the demands so far as possible at the same time and by the same means. This is the reason why the Inland Waterways Commission was created in March last, largely in response to petitions from citizens of the interior, including many of the members of this Congress. Broad instructions were given to the commission in accordance with this general policy that no plan should be prepared for the use of any stream for a single purpose without carefully considering, and so far as practicable actually providing for, the use of that stream for every other purpose. Plans for navigation and power should provide with special care for sites and terminals not only for the immediate present but also for the future. It is because of my conviction in these matters that I am here. The Inland Waterways Commission has a task broader than the consideration of waterways alone. There is an intimate relation between our streams and the development and conservation of all the other great permanent sources of wealth. It is not possible rightly to consider the one without the other. No study of the problem of the waterways could hope to be successful which failed to consider also the remaining factors in the great problem of conserving all our resources. Accordingly,

I have asked the Waterways Commission to take account of the orderly development and conservation, not alone of the waters, but also of the soil, the forests, the mines, and all the other natural resources of our country.

Many of these resources which we have been in the habit of calling inexhaustible are being rapidly exhausted, or in certain regions have actually disappeared. Coal-mines, oil and gas fields, and iron-mines in important numbers are already worked out. The coal and oil measures which remain are passing rapidly, or have actually passed, into the possession of great corporations, who acquire ominous power through an unchecked control of these prime necessities of modern life; a control without supervision of any kind. We are consuming our forests three times faster than they are being reproduced. Some of the richest timber-lands of this continent have already been destroyed, and not replaced, and other vast areas are on the verge of destruction. Yet forests, unlike mines, can be so handled as to yield the best results of use, without exhaustion, just like grain-fields.

Our public lands, whose highest use is to supply homes for our people, have been and are still being taken in great quantities by large private owners, to whom home-making is at the very best but a secondary motive subordinate to the desire for profit. To allow the public lands to be worked by the tenants of rich men for the profit of the landlords, instead of by freeholders for the livelihood of their wives and children, is little less than a crime against our people and our institutions. The great central fact of the public-land situation, as the Public Lands Commission well said, is that the amount of public land patented by the government

to individuals is increasing out of all proportion to the number of new homes. It is clear beyond peradventure that our natural resources have been and are still being abused, that continued abuse will destroy them, and that we have at last reached the forks of the road. We are face to face with the great fact that the whole future of the nation is directly at stake in the momentous decision which is forced upon us. Shall we continue the waste and destruction of our natural resources, or shall we conserve them? There is no other question of equal gravity now before the nation.

It is the plain duty of those of us who for the moment are responsible to make inventory of the natural resources which have been handed down to us, to forecast as well as we may the needs of the future, and so to handle the great sources of our prosperity as not to destroy in advance all hope for the prosperity of our descendants.

19

THE NATURAL RESOURCES—THEIR WISE USE OR THEIR WASTE *

Governors of the several States, and gentlemen:

I welcome you to this conference at the White House. You have come hither at my request so that we may join together to consider the question of the conservation and use of the great fundamental sources of wealth of this nation. So vital is this question, that for the first time in our history the chief executive officers of the States separately, and of the States together forming the nation, have met to consider it.

With the governors come men from each State chosen for their special acquaintance with the terms of the problem that is before us. Among them are experts in natural resources and representatives of national organizations concerned in the development and use of these resources; the senators and representatives in Congress; the Supreme Court, the Cabinet, and the Inland Waterways Commission have likewise been invited to the conference, which is therefore national in a peculiar sense.

This conference on the conservation of natural resources is in effect a meeting of the representatives of all the people of the United States called to consider the weightiest problem now before the nation; and the occasion for the meeting lies in the fact that the natural resources of our country are in danger of exhaustion if

* Address at the opening of the conference on the Conservation of Natural Resources, at the White House, May 13, 1908.

we permit the old wasteful methods of exploiting them longer to continue.

With the rise of peoples from savagery to civilization, and with the consequent growth in the extent and variety of the needs of the average man, there comes a steadily increasing growth of the amount demanded by this average man from the actual resources of the country. Yet, rather curiously, at the same time the average man is apt to lose his realization of this dependence upon nature.

Savages, and very primitive peoples generally, concern themselves only with superficial natural resources; with those which they obtain from the actual surface of the ground. As peoples become a little less primitive, their industries, although in a rude manner, are extended to resources below the surface; then, with what we call civilization and the extension of knowledge, more resources come into use, industries are multiplied, and foresight begins to become a necessary and prominent factor in life. Crops are cultivated; animals are domesticated; and metals are mastered.

Every step of the progress of mankind is marked by the discovery and use of natural resources previously unused. Without such progressive knowledge and utilization of natural resources population could not grow, nor industries multiply, nor the hidden wealth of the earth be developed for the benefit of mankind.

From the first beginnings of civilization, on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates, the industrial progress of the world has gone on slowly, with occasional setbacks, but on the whole steadily, through tens of centuries to the present day. But of late the rapidity of the process has increased at such a rate that more space has been actually covered during the century and a

quarter occupied by our national life than during the preceding six thousand years that take us back to the earliest monuments of Egypt, to the earliest cities of the Babylonian plain.

When the founders of this nation met at Independence Hall in Philadelphia the conditions of commerce had not fundamentally changed from what they were when the Phœnician keels first furrowed the lonely waters of the Mediterranean. The differences were those of degree, not of kind, and they were not in all cases even those of degree. Mining was carried on fundamentally as it had been carried on by the Pharaohs in the countries adjacent to the Red Sea.

The wares of the merchants of Boston, of Charleston, like the wares of the merchants of Nineveh and Sidon, if they went by water, were carried by boats propelled by sails or oars; if they went by land they were carried in wagons drawn by beasts of draft or in packs on the backs of beasts of burden. The ships that crossed the high seas were better than the ships that had once crossed the Ægean, but they were of the same type, after all—they were wooden ships propelled by sails; and on land, the roads were not as good as the roads of the Roman Empire, while the service of the posts was probably inferior.

In Washington's time anthracite coal was known only as a useless black stone; and the great fields of bituminous coal were undiscovered. As steam was unknown, the use of coal for power production was undreamed of. Water was practically the only source of power, save the labor of men and animals; and this power was used only in the most primitive fashion. But a few small iron deposits had been found in this country, and the use of iron by our countrymen was very

small. Wood was practically the only fuel, and what lumber was sawed was consumed locally, while the forests were regarded chiefly as obstructions to settlement and cultivation.

Such was the degree of progress to which civilized mankind had attained when this nation began its career. It is almost impossible for us in this day to realize how little our Revolutionary ancestors knew of the great store of natural resources whose discovery and use have been such vital factors in the growth and greatness of this nation, and how little they required to take from this store in order to satisfy their needs.

Since then our knowledge and use of the resources of the present territory of the United States have increased a hundredfold. Indeed, the growth of this nation by leaps and bounds makes one of the most striking and important chapters in the history of the world. Its growth has been due to the rapid development, and alas! that it should be said, to the rapid destruction of our natural resources. Nature has supplied to us in the United States, and still supplies to us, more kinds of resources in a more lavish degree than has ever been the case at any other time or with any other people. Our position in the world has been attained by the extent and thoroughness of the control we have achieved over nature; but we are more, and not less, dependent upon what she furnishes than at any previous time of history since the days of primitive man.

Yet our fathers, though they knew so little of the resources of the country, exercised a wise forethought in reference thereto. Washington clearly saw that the perpetuity of the States could only be secured by union, and that the only feasible basis of union was an economic one; in other words, that it must be based on the

development and use of their natural resources. Accordingly, he helped to outline a scheme of commercial development, and by his influence an interstate waterways commission was appointed by Virginia and Maryland.

It met near where we are now meeting, in Alexandria, adjourned to Mount Vernon, and took up the consideration of interstate commerce by the only means then available, that of water. Further conferences were arranged, first at Annapolis, and then at Philadelphia. It was in Philadelphia that the representatives of all the States met for what was in its original conception merely a waterways conference; but when they had closed their deliberations the outcome was the Constitution which made the States into a nation.

The Constitution of the United States thus grew in large part out of the necessity for united action in the wise use of one of our natural resources. The wise use of all of our natural resources, which are our national resources as well, is the great material question of today. I have asked you to come together now because the enormous consumption of these resources, and the threat of imminent exhaustion of some of them, due to reckless and wasteful use, once more calls for common effort, common action.

Since the days when the Constitution was adopted, steam and electricity have revolutionized the industrial world. Nowhere has the revolution been so great as in our own country. The discovery and utilization of mineral fuels and alloys have given us the lead over all other nations in the production of steel. The discovery and utilization of coal and iron have given us our railways, and have led to such industrial development as has never before been seen. The vast wealth of lumber

in our forests, the riches of our soils and mines, the discovery of gold and mineral oils, combined with the efficiency of our transportation, have made the conditions of our life unparalleled in comfort and convenience.

The steadily increasing drain on these natural resources has promoted to an extraordinary degree the complexity of our industrial and social life. Moreover, this unexampled development has had a determining effect upon the character and opinions of our people. The demand for efficiency in the great task has given us vigor, effectiveness, decision, and power, and a capacity for achievement which in its own lines has never yet been matched. So great and so rapid has been our material growth that there has been a tendency to lag behind in spiritual and moral growth; but that is not the subject upon which I speak to you to-day. Disregarding for the moment the question of moral purpose, it is safe to say that the prosperity of our people depends directly on the energy and intelligence with which our natural resources are used. It is equally clear that these resources are the final basis of national power and perpetuity. Finally, it is ominously evident that these resources are in the course of rapid exhaustion.

This nation began with the belief that its landed possessions were illimitable and capable of supporting all the people who might care to make our country their home; but already the limit of unsettled land is in sight, and indeed but little land fitted for agriculture now remains unoccupied save what can be reclaimed by irrigation and drainage. We began with an unapproached heritage of forests; more than half of the timber is gone. We began with coal-fields more extensive than those of any other nation and with iron ores regarded as inex-

haustible, and many experts now declare that the end of both iron and coal is in sight.

The mere increase in our consumption of coal during 1907 over 1906 exceeded the total consumption in 1876, the Centennial year. The enormous stores of mineral oil and gas are largely gone. Our natural waterways are not gone, but they have been so injured by neglect, and by the division of responsibility and utter lack of system in dealing with them, that there is less navigation on them now than there was fifty years ago. Finally, we began with soils of unexampled fertility and we have so impoverished them by injudicious use and by failing to check erosion that their crop-producing power is diminishing instead of increasing. In a word, we have thoughtlessly, and to a large degree unnecessarily, diminished the resources upon which not only our prosperity but the prosperity of our children must always depend.

We have become great because of the lavish use of our resources and we have just reason to be proud of our growth. But the time has come to inquire seriously what will happen when our forests are gone, when the coal, the iron, the oil, and the gas are exhausted, when the soils shall have been still further impoverished and washed into the streams, polluting the rivers, denuding the fields, and obstructing navigation. These questions do not relate only to the next century or to the next generation. It is time for us now as a nation to exercise the same reasonable foresight in dealing with our great natural resources that would be shown by any prudent man in conserving and widely using the property which contains the assurance of well-being for himself and his children.

The natural resources I have enumerated can be di-

vided into two sharply distinguished classes accordingly as they are or are not capable of renewal. Mines if used must necessarily be exhausted. The minerals do not and cannot renew themselves. Therefore in dealing with the coal, the oil, the gas, the iron, the metals generally, all that we can do is to try to see that they are wisely used. The exhaustion is certain to come in time.

The second class of resources consists of those which cannot only be used in such manner as to leave them undiminished for our children, but can actually be improved by wise use. The soil, the forests, the waterways come in this category. In dealing with mineral resources, man is able to improve on nature only by putting the resources to a beneficial use which in the end exhausts them; but in dealing with the soil and its products man can improve on nature by compelling the resources to renew and even reconstruct themselves in such manner as to serve increasingly beneficial uses—while the living waters can be so controlled as to multiply their benefits.

Neither the primitive man nor the pioneer was aware of any duty to posterity in dealing with the renewable resources. When the American settler felled the forests, he felt that there was plenty of forest left for the sons who came after him. When he exhausted the soil of his farm he felt that his son could go West and take up another. So it was with his immediate successors. When the soil wash from the farmer's fields choked the neighboring river he thought only of using the railway rather than boats for moving his produce and supplies.

Now all this is changed. On the average the son of the farmer of to-day must make his living on his father's farm. There is no difficulty in doing this if the father will exercise wisdom. No wise use of a farm exhausts

its fertility. So with the forests. We are over the verge of a timber famine in this country, and it is unpardonable for the nation or the States to permit any further cutting of our timber save in accordance with a system which will provide that the next generation shall see the timber increased instead of diminished. Moreover, we can add enormous tracts of the most valuable possible agricultural land to the national domain by irrigation in the arid and semiarid regions and by drainage of great tracts of swamp-land in the humid regions. We can enormously increase our transportation facilities by the canalization of our rivers so as to complete a great system of waterways on the Pacific, Atlantic, and Gulf coasts and in the Mississippi valley, from the great plains to the Alleghanies and from the northern lakes to the mouth of the mighty Father of Waters. But all these various uses of our natural resources are so closely connected that they should be co-ordinated and should be treated as part of one coherent plan and not in haphazard and piecemeal fashion.

It is largely because of this that I appointed the Waterways Commission last year and that I have sought to perpetuate its work. I wish to take this opportunity to express in heartiest fashion my acknowledgment to all the members of the commission. At great personal sacrifice of time and effort they have rendered a service to the public for which we cannot be too grateful. Especial credit is due to the initiative, the energy, the devotion to duty, and the far-sightedness of Gifford Pinchot, to whom we owe so much of the progress we have already made in handling this matter of the co-ordination and conservation of natural resources. If it had not been for him this convention neither would nor could have been called.

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ARBOR DAY—A MESSAGE TO THE SCHOOL-CHILDREN OF THE UNITED STATES *

Arbor Day (which means simply "Tree Day") is now observed in every State in our Union—and mainly in the schools. At various times from January to December, but chiefly in this month of April, you give a day or part of a day to special exercises and perhaps to actual tree-planting, in recognition of the importance of trees to us as a nation, and of what they yield in adornment, comfort, and useful products to the communities in which you live.

It is well that you should celebrate your Arbor Day thoughtfully, for within your lifetime the nation's need of trees will become serious. We of an older generation can get along with what we have, though with growing hardship; but in your full manhood and womanhood you will want what nature once so bountifully supplied and man so thoughtlessly destroyed; and because of that want you will reproach us, not for what we have used, but for what we have wasted.

For the nation, as for the man or woman and the boy or girl, the road to success is the right use of what we have and the improvement of present opportunity. If you neglect to prepare yourselves now for the duties and responsibilities which will fall upon you later, if you do not learn the things which you will need to know when your school-days are over, you will suffer the consequences. So any nation which in its youth lives only

* Dated, the White House, April 15, 1907.

for the day, reaps without sowing, and consumes without husbanding, must expect the penalty of the prodigal whose labor could with difficulty find him the bare means of life.

A people without children would face a hopeless future; a country without trees is almost as hopeless; forests which are so used that they cannot renew themselves will soon vanish, and with them all their benefits. A true forest is not merely a storehouse full of wood, but, as it were, a factory of wood, and at the same time a reservoir of water. When you help to preserve our forests or to plant new ones, you are acting the part of good citizens. The value of forestry deserves, therefore, to be taught in the schools, which aim to make good citizens of you. If your Arbor Day exercises help you to realize what benefits each one of you receives from the forests, and how by your assistance these benefits may continue, they will serve a good end.

V

THE TILLER OF THE SOIL

21

THE MAN WHO WORKS WITH HIS HANDS *

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of this college is an event of national significance, for Michigan was the first State in the Union to found this, the first agricultural college in America. The nation is to be congratulated on the fact that the Congress at Washington has repeatedly enacted laws designed to aid the several States in establishing and maintaining agricultural and mechanical colleges. I greet all such colleges, through their representatives who have gathered here to-day, and bid them Godspeed in their work. I no less heartily invoke success for the mechanical and agricultural schools; and I wish to say that I have heard particularly good reports of the Minnesota Agricultural High School for the way in which it sends its graduates back to the farms to work as practical farmers.

As a people there is nothing in which we take a juster pride than our educational system. It is our boast that every boy or girl has the chance to get a school training; and we feel it is a prime national duty to furnish this training free, because only thereby can we secure the proper type of citizenship in the average American. Our public schools and our colleges have done their work well, and there is no class of our citizens deserving of heartier praise than the men and women who teach in them.

Nevertheless, for at least a generation we have been

* Address at the Semicentennial Celebration of the Founding of Agricultural Colleges in the United States, at Lansing, Mich., May 31, 1907.

waking to the knowledge that there must be additional education beyond that provided in the public school as it is managed to-day. Our school system has hitherto been well-nigh wholly lacking on the side of industrial training, of the training which fits a man for the shop and the farm. This is a most serious lack, for no one can look at the peoples of mankind as they stand at present without realizing that industrial training is one of the most potent factors in national development. We of the United States must develop a system under which each individual citizen shall be trained so as to be effective individually as an economic unit, and fit to be organized with his fellows so that he and they can work in efficient fashion together. This question is vital to our future progress, and public attention should be focussed upon it. Surely it is eminently in accord with the principles of our democratic life that we should furnish the highest average industrial training for the ordinary skilled workman. But it is a curious thing that in industrial training we have tended to devote our energies to producing high-grade men at the top rather than in the ranks. Our engineering schools, for instance, compare favorably with the best in Europe, whereas we have done almost nothing to equip the private soldiers of the industrial army—the mechanic, the metal-worker, the carpenter. Indeed, too often our schools train away from the shop and the forge; and this fact, together with the abandonment of the old apprentice system, has resulted in such an absence of facilities for providing trained journeymen that in many of our trades almost all the recruits among the workmen are foreigners. Surely this means that there must be some systematic method provided for training young men in the trades, and that this must be co-ordinated

with the public-school system. No industrial school can turn out a finished journeyman; but it can furnish the material out of which a finished journeyman can be made, just as an engineering school furnishes the training which enables its graduates speedily to become engineers.

We hear a great deal of the need of protecting our working men from competition with pauper labor. I have very little fear of the competition of pauper labor. The nations with pauper labor are not the formidable industrial competitors of this country. What the American working man has to fear is the competition of the highly skilled working man of the countries of greatest industrial efficiency. By the tariff and by our immigration laws we can always protect ourselves against the competition of pauper labor here at home; but when we contend for the markets of the world we can get no protection, and we shall then find that our most formidable competitors are the nations in which there is the most highly developed business ability, the most highly developed industrial skill; and these are the qualities which we must ourselves develop.

We have been fond as a nation of speaking of the dignity of labor, meaning thereby manual labor. Personally I don't think that we begin to understand what a high place manual labor should take; and it never can take this high place unless it offers scope for the best type of man. We have tended to regard education as a matter of the head only, and the result is that a great many of our people, themselves the sons of men who worked with their hands, seem to think that they rise in the world if they get into a position where they do no hard manual work whatever; where their hands will grow soft, and their working clothes will be kept clean.

Such a conception is both false and mischievous. There are, of course, kinds of labor where the work must be purely mental, and there are other kinds of labor where, under existing conditions, very little demand indeed is made upon the mind, though I am glad to say that I think the proportion of men engaged in this kind of work is diminishing. But in any healthy community, in any community with the great solid qualities which alone make a really great nation, the bulk of the people should do work which makes demands upon both the body and the mind. Progress cannot permanently consist in the abandonment of physical labor, but in the development of physical labor so that it shall represent more and more the work of the trained mind in the trained body. To provide such training, to encourage in every way the production of the men whom it alone can produce, is to show that as a nation we have a true conception of the dignity and importance of labor. The calling of the skilled tiller of the soil, the calling of the skilled mechanic, should alike be recognized as professions, just as emphatically as the callings of lawyer, of doctor, of banker, merchant, or clerk. The printer, the electrical worker, the house-painter, the foundryman, should be trained just as carefully as the stenographer or the drug clerk. They should be trained alike in head and in hand. They should get over the idea that to earn twelve dollars a week and call it "salary" is better than to earn twenty-five dollars a week and call it "wages." The young man who has the courage and the ability to refuse to enter the crowded field of the so-called professions and to take to constructive industry is almost sure of an ample reward in earnings, in health, in opportunity to marry early, and to establish a home with reasonable freedom from worry. We

need the training, the manual dexterity and industrial intelligence, which can be best given in a good agricultural, or building, or textile, or watchmaking, or engraving, or mechanical school. It should be one of our prime objects to put the mechanic, the wage-worker who works with his hands, and who ought to work in a constantly larger degree with his head, on a higher plane of efficiency and reward, so as to increase his effectiveness in the economic world, and therefore the dignity, the remuneration, and the power of his position in the social world. To train boys and girls in merely literary accomplishments to the total exclusion of industrial, manual, and technical training, tends to unfit them for industrial work; and in real life most work is industrial.

The problem of furnishing well-trained craftsmen, or rather journeymen fitted in the end to become such, is not simple—few problems are simple in the actual process of their solution—and much care and forethought and practical common sense will be needed, in order to work it out in a fairly satisfactory manner. It should appeal to all our citizens. I am glad that societies have already been formed to promote industrial education, and that their membership includes manufacturers and leaders of labor-unions, educators and publicists, men of all conditions who are interested in education and in industry. It is such co-operation that offers most hope for a satisfactory solution of the question as to what is the best form of industrial school, as to the means by which it may be articulated with the public-school system, and as to the way to secure for the boys trained therein the opportunity to acquire in the industries the practical skill which alone can make them finished journeymen.

There is but one person whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as is that of the wage-worker who does manual labor; and that is the tiller of the soil—the farmer. If there is one lesson taught by history it is that the permanent greatness of any State must ultimately depend more upon the character of its country population than upon anything else. No growth of cities, no growth of wealth can make up for a loss in either the number or the character of the farming population. In the United States more than in almost any other country we should realize this and should prize our country population. When this nation began its independent existence it was as a nation of farmers. The towns were small and were for the most part mere seacoast trading and fishing ports. The chief industry of the country was agriculture, and the ordinary citizen was in some way connected with it. In every great crisis of the past a peculiar dependence has had to be placed upon the farming population; and this dependence has hitherto been justified. But it cannot be justified in the future if agriculture is permitted to sink in the scale as compared with other employments. We cannot afford to lose that pre-eminently typical American, the farmer who owns his own farm.

Yet it would be idle to deny that in the last half-century there has been in the Eastern half of our country a falling off in the relative condition of the tillers of the soil, although signs are multiplying that the nation has waked up to the danger and is preparing to grapple effectively with it. East of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and the Potomac there has been on the whole an actual shrinkage in the number of the farming population since the Civil War. In the States of this section there has been a growth of population—in some

an enormous growth—but the growth has taken place in the cities, and especially in the larger cities. This has been due to certain economic factors, such as the extension of railroads, the development of machinery, and the openings for industrial success afforded by the unprecedented growth of cities. The increased facility of communication has resulted in the withdrawal from rural communities of most of the small, widely distributed manufacturing and commercial operations of former times, and the substitution therefor of the centralized commercial and manufacturing industries of the cities.

The chief offset to the various tendencies which have told against the farm has hitherto come in the rise of the physical sciences and their application to agricultural practices or to the rendering of country conditions more easy and pleasant. But these countervailing forces are as yet in their infancy. As compared with a few decades ago, the social or community life of country people in the East compares less well than it formerly did with that of the dwellers in cities. Many country communities have lost their social coherence, their sense of community interest. In such communities the country church, for instance, has gone backward both as a social and a religious factor. Now, we cannot too strongly insist upon the fact that it is quite as unfortunate to have any social as any economic falling off. It would be a calamity to have our farms occupied by a lower type of people than the hard-working, self-respecting, independent, and essentially manly and womanly men and women who have hitherto constituted the most typically American, and on the whole the most valuable, element in our entire nation. Ambitious native-born young men and women who now

tend away from the farm must be brought back to it, and therefore they must have social as well as economic opportunities. Everything should be done to encourage the growth in the open farming country of such institutional and social movements as will meet the demand of the best type of farmers. There should be libraries, assembly-halls, social organizations of all kinds. The school-building and the teacher in the school-building should, throughout the country districts, be of the very highest type, able to fit the boys and girls not merely to live in, but thoroughly to enjoy and to make the most, of the country. The country church must be revived. All kinds of agencies, from rural free delivery to the bicycle and the telephone, should be utilized to the utmost; good roads should be favored; everything should be done to make it easier for the farmer to lead the most active and effective intellectual, political, and economic life.

There are regions of large extent where all this, or most of this, has already been realized; and while this is perhaps especially true of great tracts of farming country west of the Mississippi, with some of which I have a fairly intimate personal knowledge, it is no less true of other great tracts of country east of the Mississippi. In these regions the church and the school flourish as never before; there is a more successful and more varied farming industry; the social advantages and opportunities are greater than ever before; life is fuller, happier, more useful; and though the work is more effective than ever, and in a way quite as hard, it is carried on so as to give more scope for well-used leisure. My plea is that we shall all try to make more nearly universal the conditions that now obtain in the most favored localities.

Nothing in the way of scientific work can ever take the place of business management on a farm. We ought all of us to teach ourselves as much as possible; but we can also all of us learn from others; and the farmer can best learn how to manage his farm even better than he now does by practice, under intelligent supervision, on his own soil in such way as to increase his income. This is the kind of teaching which has been carried on in Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas by Doctor Knapp, of the National Department of Agriculture. But much has been accomplished by the growth of what is broadly designated as agricultural science. This has been developed with remarkable rapidity during the last quarter of a century, and the benefit to agriculture has been great. As was inevitable, there was much error and much repetition of work in the early application of money to the needs of agricultural colleges and experiment stations alike by the nation and the several States. Much has been accomplished; but much more can be accomplished in the future. The prime need must always be for real research, resulting in scientific conclusions of proved soundness. Both the farmer and the legislature must beware of invariably demanding immediate returns from investments in research efforts. It is probably one of our faults as a nation that we are too impatient to wait a sufficient length of time to accomplish the best results; and in agriculture effective research often, although not always, involves slow and long-continued effort if the results are to be trustworthy. While applied science in agriculture as elsewhere must be judged largely from the standpoint of its actual return in dollars, yet the farmers, no more than any one else, can afford to ignore the large results that can be enjoyed because of broader knowledge. The

farmer must prepare for using the knowledge that can be obtained through agricultural colleges by insisting upon a constantly more practical curriculum in the schools in which his children are taught. He must not lose his independence, his initiative, his rugged self-sufficiency; and yet he must learn to work in the heartiest co-operation with his fellows.

The corner-stones of our unexampled prosperity are, on the one hand, the production of raw material, and its manufacture and distribution on the other. These two great groups of subjects are represented in the National Government principally by the Departments of Agriculture and of Commerce and Labor. The production of raw material from the surface of the earth is the sphere in which the Department of Agriculture has hitherto achieved such notable results. Of all the executive departments there is no other, not even the post-office, which comes into more direct and beneficent contact with the daily life of the people than the Department of Agriculture, and none whose yield of practical benefits is greater in proportion to the public money expended.

But great as its services have been in the past, the Department of Agriculture has a still larger field of usefulness ahead. It has been dealing with growing crops. It must hereafter deal also with living men. Hitherto agricultural research, instruction, and agitation have been directed almost exclusively toward the production of wealth from the soil. It is time to adopt in addition a new point of view. Hereafter another great task before the National Department of Agriculture and the similar agencies of the various States must be to foster agriculture for its social results, or, in other words, to assist in bringing about the best kind of life on the farm

for the sake of producing the best kind of men. The government must recognize the far-reaching importance of the study and treatment of the problems of farm life alike from the social and the economic standpoints; and the Federal and State Departments of Agriculture should co-operate at every point.

The farm grows the raw material for the food and clothing of all our citizens; it supports directly almost half of them; and nearly half the children of the United States are born and brought up on farms. How can the life of the farm family be made less solitary, fuller of opportunity, freer from drudgery, more comfortable, happier, and more attractive? Such a result is most earnestly to be desired. How can life on the farm be kept on the highest level, and where it is not already on that level, be so improved, dignified, and brightened as to awaken and keep alive the pride and loyalty of the farmer's boys and girls, of the farmer's wife, and of the farmer himself? How can a compelling desire to live on the farm be aroused in the children that are born on the farm? All these questions are of vital importance not only to the farmer, but to the whole nation; and the Department of Agriculture must do its share in answering them.

The drift toward the city is largely determined by the superior social opportunities to be enjoyed there, by the greater vividness and movement of city life. Considered from the point of view of national efficiency, the problem of the farm is as much a problem of attractiveness as it is a problem of prosperity. It has ceased to be merely a problem of growing wheat and corn and cattle. The problem of production has not ceased to be fundamental, but it is no longer final; just as learning to read and write and cipher are fundamental, but are no

longer the final ends of education. We hope ultimately to double the average yield of wheat and corn per acre; it will be a great achievement; but it is even more important to double the desirability, comfort, and standing of the farmer's life.

We must consider, then, not merely how to produce, but also how production affects the producer. In the past we have given but scant attention to the social side of farm life. We should study much more closely than has yet been done the social organization of the country, and inquire whether its institutions are now really as useful to the farmer as they should be, or whether they should not be given a new direction and a new impulse, for no farmer's life should lie merely within the boundary of his farm. This study must be of the East and the West, the North and the South; for the needs vary from place to place.

First in importance, of course, comes the effort to secure the mastery of production. Great strides toward this end have already been taken over the larger part of the United States; much remains to be done, but much has been done; and the debt of the nation to the various agencies of agricultural improvement for so great an advance is not to be overstated. But we cannot halt here. The benefits of high social organization include such advantages as ease of communication, better educational facilities, increased comfort of living, and those opportunities for social and intellectual life and intercourse, of special value to the young people and to the women, which are as yet chiefly to be had in centres of population. All this must be brought within the reach of the farmers who live on the farms, of the men whose labor feeds and clothes the towns and cities.

Farmers must learn the vital need of co-operation with one another. Next to this comes co-operation with the government, and the government can best give its aid through associations of farmers rather than through the individual farmer; for there is no greater agricultural problem than that of delivering to the farmer the large body of agricultural knowledge which has been accumulated by the National and State Governments and by the agricultural colleges and schools. Nowhere has the government worked to better advantage than in the South, where the work done by the Department of Agriculture in connection with the cotton-growers of the southwestern States has been phenomenal in its value. The farmers in the region affected by the boll-weevil, in the course of the efforts to fight it have succeeded in developing a most scientific husbandry, so that in many places the boll-weevil became a blessing in disguise. Not only did the industry of farming become of very much greater economic value in its direct results, but it became immensely more interesting to thousands of families. The meetings at which the new subjects of interest were discussed grew to have a distinct social value, while with the farmers were joined the merchants and bankers of the neighborhood. It is needless to say that every such successful effort to organize the farmer gives a great stimulus to the admirable educational work which is being done in the Southern States, as elsewhere, to prepare young people for an agricultural life. It is greatly to be wished that the communities from whence these students are drawn and to which they either return or should return could be co-operatively organized; that is, that associations of farmers could be organized, primarily for business purposes, but also with social ends in view.

This would mean that the returned students from the institutions of technical learning would find their environment prepared to profit to the utmost by the improvements in technical methods which they had learned.

The people of our farming regions must be able to combine among themselves, as the most efficient means of protecting their industry from the highly organized interests which now surround them on every side. A vast field is open for work by co-operative associations of farmers in dealing with the relation of the farm to transportation and to the distribution and manufacture of raw materials. It is only through such combination that American farmers can develop to the full their economic and social power. Combination of this kind has, in Denmark, for instance, resulted in bringing the people back to the land, and has enabled the Danish peasant to compete in extraordinary fashion, not only at home but in foreign countries, with all rivals.

Agricultural colleges and farmers' institutes have done much in instruction and inspiration; they have stood for the nobility of labor and the necessity of keeping the muscles and the brain in training for industry. They have developed technical departments of high practical value. They seek to provide for the people on the farms an equipment so broad and thorough as to fit them for the highest requirements of our citizenship; so that they can establish and maintain country homes of the best type, and create and sustain a country civilization more than equal to that of the city. The men they train must be able to meet the strongest business competition, at home or abroad, and they can do this only if they are trained not alone in the various lines of husbandry but in successful economic manage-

ment. These colleges, like the State experiment stations, should carefully study and make known the needs of each section, and should try to provide remedies for what is wrong.

The education to be obtained in these colleges should create as intimate relationship as is possible between the theory of learning and the facts of actual life. Educational establishments should produce highly trained scholars, of course; but in a country like ours, where the educational establishments are so numerous, it is folly to think that their main purpose is to produce these highly trained scholars. Without in the least disparaging scholarship and learning—on the contrary, while giving hearty and ungrudging admiration and support to the comparatively few whose primary work should be creative scholarship—it must be remembered that the ordinary graduate of our colleges should be and must be primarily a man and not a scholar. Education should not confine itself to books. It must train executive power, and try to create that right public opinion which is the most potent factor in the proper solution of all political and social questions. Book-learning is very important, but it is by no means everything; and we shall never get the right idea of education until we definitely understand that a man may be well trained in book-learning and yet, in the proper sense of the word, and for all practical purposes, be utterly uneducated; while a man of comparatively little book-learning may, nevertheless, in essentials, have a good education.

It is true that agriculture in the United States has reached a very high level of prosperity; but we cannot afford to disregard the signs which teach us that there are influences operating against the establishment or

retention of our country life upon a really sound basis. The overextensive and wasteful cultivation of pioneer days must stop and give place to a more economical system. Not only the physical but the ethical needs of the people of the country districts must be considered. In our country life there must be social and intellectual advantages as well as a fair standard of physical comfort. There must be in the country, as in the town, a multiplication of movements for intellectual advancement and social betterment. We must try to raise the average of farm life, and we must also try to develop it so that it shall offer exceptional chances for the exceptional man.

Of course the essential things after all are those which concern all of us as men and women, no matter whether we live in the town or the country, and no matter what our occupations may be. The root problems are much the same for all of us, widely though they may differ in outward manifestation. The most important conditions that tell for happiness within the home are the same for the town and the country; and the relations between employer and employee are not always satisfactory on the farm any more than in the factory. All over the country there is a constant complaint of paucity of farm labor. Without attempting to go into all the features of this question, I would like to point out that you can never get the right kind, the best kind, of labor if you offer employment only for a few months, for no man worth anything will permanently accept a system which leaves him in idleness for half the year. And most important of all, I want to say a special word on behalf of the one who is too often the very hardest worked laborer on the farm—the farmer's wife. Reform, like charity, while it should not end at

home, should certainly begin there; and the man, whether he lives on a farm or in a town, who is anxious to see better social and economic conditions prevail through the country at large, should be exceedingly careful that they prevail first as regards his own womankind. I emphatically believe that for the great majority of women the really indispensable industry in which they should engage is the industry of the home. There are exceptions, of course; but exactly as the first duty of the normal man is the duty of being the home-maker, so the first duty of the normal woman is to be the home-keeper; and exactly as no other learning is as important for the average man as the learning which will teach him how to make his livelihood, so no other learning is as important for the average woman as the learning which will make her a good housewife and mother. But this does not mean that she should be an overworked drudge. I have hearty sympathy with the movement to better the condition of the average tiller of the soil, of the average wage-worker, and I have an even heartier sympathy and applause for the movement which is to better the condition of their respective wives. There is plenty that is hard and rough and disagreeable in the necessary work of actual life; and under the best circumstances, and no matter how tender and considerate the husband, the wife will have at least her full share of work and worry and anxiety; but if the man is worth his salt he will try to take as much as possible of the burden off the shoulders of his helpmate. There is nothing Utopian in the movement; all that is necessary is to strive toward raising the average, both of men and women, to the level on which the highest type of family now stands among American farmers, among American skilled mechanics, among

American citizens generally; for in all the world there is no better and healthier home life, no finer factory of individual character, nothing more representative of what is best and most characteristic in American life, than that which exists in the higher type of American family; and this higher type of family is to be found everywhere among us, and is the property of no special group of citizens.

The best crop is the crop of children; the best products of the farm are the men and women raised thereon; and the most instructive and practical treatises on farming, necessary though they be, are no more necessary than the books which teach us our duty to our neighbor, and above all to the neighbor who is of our own household. You young men and women of the agricultural and industrial colleges and schools—and, for that matter, you who go to any college or school—must have some time for light reading; and there is some light reading quite as useful as heavy reading, provided of course that you do not read in a spirit of mere vacuity. Aside from the great classics, and thinking only of the many healthy and stimulating books of the day, it is easy to pick out many which can really serve as tracts, because they possess what many avowed tracts and treatises do not, the prime quality of being interesting. You will learn the root principles of self-help and helpfulness toward others from "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch," just as much as from any formal treatise on charity; you will learn as much sound social and industrial doctrine from Octave Thanet's stories of farmers and wage-workers as from avowed sociological and economic studies; and I cordially recommend the first chapter of "Aunt Jane of Kentucky" for use as a tract in all families where the men-folks tend to

selfish or thoughtless or overbearing disregard of the rights of their womankind.

Do not misunderstand me. I have not the slightest sympathy with those hysterical and foolish creatures who wish women to attain to easy lives by shirking their duties. I have as hearty a contempt for the woman who shirks her duty of bearing and rearing the children, of doing her full housewife's work, as I have for the man who is an idler, who shirks his duty of earning a living for himself and for his household, or who is selfish or brutal toward his wife and children. I believe in the happiness that comes from the performance of duty, not from the avoidance of duty. But I believe also in trying, each of us, as strength is given us, to bear one another's burdens; and this especially in our own homes. No outside training, no co-operation, no government aid or direction can take the place of a strong and upright character; of goodness of heart combined with clearness of head, and that strength and toughness of fibre necessary to wring success from a rough workaday world. Nothing outside of home can take the place of home. The school is an invaluable adjunct to the home, but it is a wretched substitute for it. The family relation is the most fundamental, the most important of all relations. No leader in church or state, in science or art or industry, however great his achievement, does work which compares in importance with that of the father and the mother, "who are the first of sovereigns and the most divine of priests."

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RURAL LIFE *

THERE are no two public questions of more vital importance to the future of this country than the problem of conservation and the problem of the betterment of country life. Moreover, these two problems are really interdependent, for neither of them can be successfully solved save on condition that there is at least a measurable success in the effort to solve the other. In any great country the prime physical asset—the physical asset more valuable than any other—is the fertility of the soil. All our industrial and commercial welfare, all our material development of every kind, depends in the last resort upon our preserving and increasing the fertility of the soil. This, of course, means the conservation of the soil as the great natural resource; and equally, of course, it furthermore implies the development of country life, for there cannot be a permanent improvement of the soil if the life of those who live on it, and make their living out of it, is suffered to starve and languish, to become stunted and weazened and inferior to the type of life lived elsewhere. We are now trying to preserve, not for exploitation by individuals, but for the permanent benefit of the whole people, the waters and the forests, and we are doing this primarily as a means of adding to the fertility of the soil; although in each case there is a great secondary use both of the water and of the forests for commercial and industrial

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purposes. In the same way it is essential for the farmers themselves to try to broaden the life of the man who lives in the open country; to make it more attractive; to give it every adjunct and aid to development which has been given to the life of the man of the cities. Therefore the conservation and rural-life policies are really two sides of the same policy; and down at bottom this policy rests upon the fundamental law that neither man nor nation can prosper unless, in dealing with the present, thought is steadily taken for the future.

In one sense this problem with which we have to deal is very, very old. Wherever civilizations have hitherto sprung up they have always tended to go through certain stages and then to fall. No nation can develop a real civilization without cities. Up to a certain point the city movement is thoroughly healthy; yet it is a strange and lamentable fact that always hitherto after this point has been reached the city has tended to develop at the expense of the country by draining the country of what is best in it, and making an insignificant return for this best. In consequence, in the past, every civilization in its later stages has tended really to witness those conditions under which "the cities prosper and the men decay." There are ugly signs that these tendencies are at work in this nation of ours. But very fortunately we see now what never before was seen in any civilization—an aroused and alert public interest in the problem, a recognition of its gravity and a desire to attempt its solution.

The problem does not consist merely in the growth of the city. Such a growth in itself is a good thing and not a bad thing for the country. The problem consists in the growth of the city at the expense of the country;

and, even where this is not the case, in so great an equality of growth in power and interest as to make the city more attractive than the country, and therefore apt to drain the country of the people who ought to live therein.

The human side of the rural-life problem is to make the career of the farmer and the career of the farm laborer as attractive and as remunerative as corresponding careers in the city. Now, I am well aware that the farmer must himself take the lead in bringing this about. A century and a quarter ago the wise English farmer, Arthur Young, wrote of the efforts to improve French wool: "A cultivator at the head of a sheep farm of three thousand or four thousand acres would in a few years do more for their wools than all the academicians and philosophers will effect in ten centuries." It is absurd to think that any man who has studied the subject only theoretically is fit to direct those who practically work at the matter. But I wish to insist to you here—to you practical men, who own and work your farms—that it is an equally pernicious absurdity for the practical man to refuse to benefit by the work of the student. The English farmer I have quoted, Young, was a practical farmer, but he was also a scientific farmer. One reason why the great business men of to-day—the great industrial leaders—have gone ahead, while the farmer has tended to sag behind the others, is that they are far more willing, and indeed eager, to profit by expert and technical knowledge—the knowledge that can come only as a result of the highest education. From railways to factories no great industrial concern can nowadays be carried on save by the aid of a swarm of men who have received a high technical education in chemistry, in engineering, in electricity, in

one or more of scores of special subjects. The big business man, the big railway man, does not ask college-trained experts to tell him how to run his business; but he does ask numbers of them each to give him expert advice and aid on some one point indispensable to his business. He finds this man usually in some graduate of a technical school or college in which he has been trained for his life-work.

In just the same way the farmers should benefit by the advice of the technical men who have been trained in phases of the very work the farmer does. I am not now speaking of the man who has had an ordinary general training, whether in school or college. While there should undoubtedly be such a training as a foundation (the extent differing according to the kind of work each boy intends to do as a man), it is nevertheless true that our educational system should more and more be turned in the direction of educating men toward, and not away from, the farm and the shop. During the last half-century we have begun to develop a system of agricultural education at once practical and scientific, and we must go on developing it. But, after developing it, it must be used. The rich man who spends a fortune upon a fancy farm, with entire indifference to cost, does not do much good to farming; but, on the other hand, just as little is done by the working farmer who stolidly refuses to profit by the knowledge of the day; who treats any effort at improvement as absurd on its face, refuses to countenance what he regards as new-fangled ideas and contrivances, and jeers at all "book farming." I wish I could take representatives of this type of farmer down to Long Island, where I live, to have them see what has been done, not as philanthropy but as a plain business proposition, by men connected with the Long

Island Railroad, who believe it pays to encourage the development of farms along the line of that railway. They have put practical men in charge of experimental farms, cultivating them intensively, and using the best modern methods, not only in raising crops, but in securing the best market for the crops when raised. The growth has been astounding, and land only fifty miles from New York, which during our entire national lifetime has been treated as worthless, has within the last three or four years been proved to possess a really high value.

The farmer, however, must not only make his land pay, but he must make country life interesting for himself and for his wife and his sons and daughters. Our people as a whole should realize the infinite possibilities of life in the country; and every effort should be made to make these possibilities more possible. From the beginning of time it has been the man raised in the country—and usually the man born in the country—who has been most apt to render the services which every nation most needs. Turning to the list of American statesmen, it is extraordinary to see how large a proportion started as farm boys. But it is rather sad to see that in recent years most of these same boys have ended their lives as men living in cities.

It often happens that the good conditions of the past can be regained, not by going back, but by going forward. We cannot recreate what is dead; we cannot stop the march of events; but we can direct this march, and out of the new conditions develop something better than the past knew. Henry Clay was a farmer who lived all his life in the country; Washington was a farmer who lived and died in the country; and we of this nation ought to make it our business to see that

the conditions are made such that farm life in the future shall not only develop men of the stamp of Washington and Henry Clay, but shall be so attractive that these men may continue as farmers; for remember that Washington and Henry Clay were successful farmers. I hope that things will so shape themselves that the farmer can have a great career and yet end his life as a farmer; so that the city man will look forward to living in the country rather than the country man to living in the city.

Farmers should learn how to combine effectively, as has been done in industry. I heartily believe in farmers' organizations; and we should all welcome every step taken toward an increasing co-operation among farmers. The importance of such movements cannot be overestimated; and through such intelligent joint action it will be possible to improve the market just as much as the farm.

Country life should be as attractive as city life, and the country people should insist upon having their full representation when it comes to dealing with all great public questions. In other words, country folks should demand that they work on equal terms with city folks in all such matters. They should have their share in the memberships of commissions and councils; in short, of all the organized bodies for laying plans for great enterprises affecting all the people. I am glad to see on such bodies the names that represent financial interests, but those interests should not have the right of way, and in all enterprises and movements in which the social condition of the country is involved, the agricultural country—the open country—should be as well represented as the city. The man of the open country is apt to have certain qualities which the city man has

lost. These qualities offset those which the city man has and he himself has not. The two should be put on equal terms, and the country talent be given the same opportunity as the city talent to express itself and to contribute to the welfare of the world in which we live.

The country church should be made a true social centre, alive to every need of the community, standing for a broad individual outlook and development, taking the lead in work and in recreation, caring more for conduct than for dogma, more for ethical, spiritual, practical betterment than for merely formal piety. The country fair offers far greater possibilities for continuous and healthy usefulness than it at present affords. The country school should be made a vital centre for economic, social, and educational co-operation; it is naturally fitted to be such a centre for those engaged in commercial farming, and still more for those engaged in domestic farming, for those who live on and by the small farms they themselves own. The problem of the farm is really the problem of the family that lives on the farm. On all these questions there is need of intelligent study, such as marks the books of Professor Bailey, of Cornell, and of Sir Horace Plunkett's book on the "Rural Life Problems of the United States."

One feature of the problem should be recognized by the farmer at once, and an effort made to deal with it. It is our duty and our business to consider the farm laborer exactly as we consider the farmer. No country life can be satisfactory when the owners of farms tend, for whatever reason, to go away to live in cities instead of working their farms; and, moreover, it cannot be really satisfactory when the labor system is so managed that there is for part of the year a demand for labor which cannot be met, and during another part of the

year no demand for labor at all, so that the farmers tend to rely on migratory laborers who come out to work in the country with no permanent interest in it and with no prospect of steady employment. It is exceedingly difficult to make a good citizen out of a man who cannot count upon some steadiness and continuity in the work which means to him his livelihood. Economic conditions on the farm—in variety and kind of crop-growing, especially as distributed in time, and in housing for the men—must be so shaped as to render it possible for the man who labors for the farmer to be steadily employed under conditions which foster his self-respect and tend for his development.

Above all, the conditions of farm life must always be shaped with a view to the welfare of the farmer's wife and the farm laborer's wife, quite as much as to the welfare of the farmer and the farm laborer. To have the woman a mere drudge is at least as bad as to have the man a mere drudge. It is every whit as important to introduce new machines to economize her labor within the house, as it is to introduce machinery to increase the effectiveness of his labor outside the house. I have not the slightest sympathy with any movement which looks to excusing men and women for the non-performance of duty and fixes attention only on rights and not on duties. The woman who shirks her duty as housewife, as mother, is a contemptible creature; just as the corresponding man is a contemptible creature. But the welfare of the woman is even more important than the welfare of the man; for the mother is the real Atlas, who bears aloft in her strong and tender arms the destiny of the world. She deserves honor and consideration such as no man should receive. She forfeits all claim to this honor and consideration if she shirks her duties.

But the average American woman does not shirk them; and it is a matter of the highest obligation for us to see that they are performed under conditions which make for her welfare and happiness and for the welfare and happiness of the children she brings into the world.

VI

LABOR

23

LABOR AND BROTHERHOOD *

At the opening of the twentieth century we face conditions vastly changed from what they were in this country and throughout the world a century ago. Our complex industrial civilization under which progress has been so rapid, and in which the changes for good have been so great, has also inevitably seen the growth of certain tendencies that are not for good, or at least that are not wholly for good; and we in consequence, as a people, like the rest of civilized mankind, find set before us for solution during the coming century problems which need the best thought of all of us, and the most earnest desire of all to solve them well if we expect to work out a solution satisfactory to our people, a solution for the advantage of the nation. In facing these problems, it must be a comfort to every well-wisher of the nation to see what has been done by your organization. I believe emphatically in organized labor. I believe in organizations of wage-workers. Organization is one of the laws of our social and economic development at this time. But I feel that we must always keep before our minds the fact that there is nothing sacred in the name itself. To call an organization an organization does not make it a good one. The worth of an organization depends upon its being handled with the courage, the skill, the wisdom, the spirit of fair dealing as between man and man, and the wise self-restraint which, I am glad to be able to say, your Brotherhood

* Address before the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Chattanooga, Tenn., September 8, 1902.

has shown. You now number close upon forty-four thousand members. During the two years ending June 30 last you paid in to the general and beneficiary funds close upon a million and a half dollars. More than six and one-half millions have been paid in since the starting of the insurance clause in the constitution —have been paid to disabled members and their beneficiaries. Over fifty per cent of the amount paid was paid on account of accidents. Gentlemen, that is a sufficient commentary upon the kind of profession which is yours. You face death and danger in time of peace, as in time of war the men wearing Uncle Sam's uniform must face them.

Your work is hard. Do you suppose I mention that because I pity you? No; not a bit. I don't pity any man who does hard work worth doing. I admire him. I pity the creature who doesn't work, at whichever end of the social scale he may regard himself as being. The law of worthy work well done is the law of successful American life. I believe in play, too—play, and play hard while you play; but don't make the mistake of thinking that that is the main thing. The work is what counts, and if a man does his work well and it is worth doing, then it matters but little in which line that work is done; the man is a good American citizen. If he does his work in slipshod fashion, then no matter what kind of work it is, he is a poor American citizen.

I speak to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, but what I say applies to all railroad men—not only to the engineers who have served an apprenticeship as firemen, to the conductors, who, as a rule, have served an apprenticeship as brakemen, but to all the men of all the organizations connected with railroad work. I know you do not grudge my saying that, through you,

I am talking to all the railroad men of the country. You, in your organization as railroad men, have taught two lessons: the lesson of how much can be accomplished by organization, by mutual self-help of the type that helps another in the only way by which, in the long run, he can succeed—that is, by teaching him to help himself. You teach the benefits of organization, and you also teach the indispensable need of keeping absolutely unimpaired the faculty of individual initiative, the faculty by which each man brings himself to the highest point of perfection by exercising the special qualities with which he is himself endowed. The Brotherhood has developed to this enormous extent since the days, now many years ago, when the first little band came together; and it has developed, not by crushing out individual initiative, but by developing it, by combining many individual initiatives.

The Brotherhood of Firemen does much for all firemen, but I firmly believe that the individual fireman since the growth of the Brotherhood has been more, not less, efficient than he was twenty years ago. Membership in the Brotherhood comes, as I understand it, after a nine months' probationary period; after a man has shown his worth, he is then admitted and stands on his footing as a brother. Now, any man who enters with the purpose of letting the Brotherhood carry him is not worth much. The man who counts in the Brotherhood is the man who pulls his own weight and a little more. Much can be done by the Brotherhood. I have just hinted in the general figures I gave you, at how much has been done, but it still remains true in the Brotherhood, and everywhere else throughout American life, that in the last resort nothing can supply the place of the man's own individual qualities. We need those, no

matter how perfect the organization is outside. There is just as much need of nerve, hardihood, power to face risks and accept responsibilities, in the engineer and the fireman, whether on a flyer or a freight-train, now as there ever was. Much can be done by the Association. A great deal can be accomplished by working each for all and all for each; but we must not forget that the first requisite in accomplishing that is that each man should work for others by working for himself, by developing his own capacity.

The steady way in which a man can rise is illustrated by a little thing that happened yesterday. I came down here over the Queen and Crescent Railroad, and the general manager, who handled my train and who handled yours, was Mr. Maguire. I used to know him in the old days when he was on his way up, and he began right at the bottom. He was a fireman at one time. He worked his way straight up, and now he is general manager.

I believe so emphatically in your organization because, while it teaches the need of working in union, of working in association, of working with deep in our hearts, not merely on our lips, the sense of Brotherhood, yet of necessity it still keeps, as your organization always must keep, to the forefront the worth of the individual qualities of a man. I said to you that I came here in a sense not to speak to you, but to use your experience as an object-lesson for all of us, an object-lesson in good American citizenship. All professions, of course, do not call for the exercise to the same degree of the qualities of which I have spoken. Your profession is one of those which I am inclined to feel play in modern life a greater part from the standpoint of character than we entirely realize. There is in modern life,

with the growth of civilization and luxury, a certain tendency to softening of the national fibre. There is a certain tendency to forget, in consequence of their disuse, the rugged virtues which lie at the back of manhood; and I feel that professions like yours, like the profession of the railroad men of the country, have a tonic effect upon the whole body politic.

It is a good thing that there should be a large body of our fellow citizens—that there should be a profession —whose members must, year in and year out, display those old, old qualities of courage, daring, resolution, unflinching willingness to meet danger at need. I hope to see all our people develop the softer, gentler virtues to an ever-increasing degree, but I hope never to see them lose the sterner virtues that make men men.

A man is not going to be a fireman or an engineer, or serve well in any other capacity on a railroad long if he has a "streak of yellow" in him. You are going to find it out, and he is going to be painfully conscious of it, very soon. It is a fine thing for our people that we should have those qualities in evidence before us in the life-work of a big group of our citizens.

In American citizenship, we can succeed permanently only upon the basis of standing shoulder to shoulder, working in association, by organization, each working for all, and yet remembering that we need each so to shape things that each man can develop to best advantage all the forces and powers at his command. In your organization you accomplish much by means of the Brotherhood, but you accomplish it because of the men who go to make up that brotherhood.

If you had exactly the organization, exactly the laws, exactly the system, and yet were yourselves a poor set of men, the system would not save you. I will guarantee

that, from time to time, you have men go in to try to serve for the nine months who prove that they do not have the stuff in them out of which you can make good men. You have to have the stuff in you, and, if you have the stuff, you can make out of it a much finer man by means of the Association—but you must have the material out of which to make it. So it is in citizenship.

And now let me say a word, speaking not merely especially to the Brotherhood, but to all our citizens. Governor McMillan, Mr. Mayor: I fail to see how any American can come to Chattanooga and go over the great battle-fields in the neighborhood—the battle-fields here in this State and just across the border in my mother's State of Georgia—how any American can come here and see evidences of the mighty deeds done by the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray, and not go away a better American, prouder of the country, prouder because of the valor displayed on both sides in the contest—the valor, the self-devotion, the loyalty to the right as each side saw the right. Yesterday I was presented with a cane cut from the Chickamauga battle-field by some young men of northern Georgia. On the cane were engraved the names of three Union generals and three Confederate generals. One of those Union generals was at that time showing me over the battle-field—General Boynton. Under one of the Confederate generals—General Wheeler—I myself served. In my regiment there served under me in the ranks a son of General Hood, who commanded at one time the Confederate army against General Sherman. The only captain whom I had the opportunity of promoting to field rank, and to whom the promotion was given for gallantry on the field, was Micah Jenkins, of South Carolina, the son of a Confederate general,

whose name you will find recorded among those who fought at Chickamauga.

Two of my best captains were killed at Santiago—one was Allyn Capron, the fifth in line who, from father to son, had served in the Regular Army of the United States, who had served in every war in which our country had been engaged; the other, Bucky O'Neill. His father had fought under Meagher when, on the day at Fredericksburg, his brigade left more men under the stone wall than did any other brigade. I had in my regiment men from the North and the South; men from the East and the West; men whose fathers had fought under Grant, and whose fathers had fought under Lee; college graduates, capitalists' sons, wage-workers, the man of means and the man who all his life had owed each day's bread to the day's toil. I had Catholic, Protestant, Jew, and Gentile under me. Among my captains were men whose forefathers had been among the first white men to settle on Massachusetts Bay and on the banks of the James, and others whose parents had come from Germany, from Ireland, from England, from France. They were all Americans, and nothing else, and each man stood on his worth as a man, to be judged by it, and to succeed or fail accordingly as he did well or ill. Compared to the giant death-wrestles that reeled over the mountains roundabout this city the fight at Santiago was the merest skirmish; but the spirit in which we handled ourselves there, I hope was the spirit in which we have to face our duties as citizens if we are to make this Republic what it must be made.

Yesterday, in passing over the Chickamauga battle-field, I was immensely struck by the monument raised by Kentucky to the Union and Confederate soldiers from Kentucky who fell on that battle-field. The in-

scription reads as follows: "As we are united in life, and they united in death, let one monument perpetuate their deeds, and one people, forgetful of all asperities, forever hold in grateful remembrance all the glories of that terrible conflict which made all men free and retained every star on the nation's flag." That is a good sentiment. That is a sentiment by which we can all stand. And oh, my friends! what does that sentiment have as its underlying spirit? The spirit of brotherhood!

I firmly believe in my countrymen, and therefore I believe that the chief thing necessary in order that they shall work together is that they shall know one another —that the Northerner shall know the Southerner, and the man of one occupation know the man of another occupation; the man who works in one walk of life know the man who works in another walk of life, so that we may realize that the things which divide us are superficial, are unimportant, and that we are, and must ever be, knit together into one indissoluble mass by our common American brotherhood.

24

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF LABOR *

It is a peculiar pleasure to have the opportunity of speaking to-day to you here on this occasion. I come gladly for more than one reason. I come because I am glad to come here in Illinois; I come because I am glad to come to the representatives of the railroad Brotherhoods; and I come because the work that you are gathered here to help is peculiarly a work that should appeal to every good citizen.

You men of the Brotherhood and the citizens who have helped are doing, as Mr. Morrissey so well said: "Not an act of charity, but an act of justice to the men who, through no fault of their own, have paid by crippling disaster for the industrial progress of all of us." They have paid for our welfare. The damage—the crippling damage—they have suffered is a part of the penalty exacted that all of us may ride in comfort and in safety; and it is a matter of high obligation to see that their years are cared for.

It is a fine thing to have such a piece of work done by individual action; but the nation and all the States should see that it is not necessary to appeal to individual good-will and benevolence to make good something of the loss suffered by the man whose life and limb are jeopardized as an incident to his career as a railroad man. We should have in the national law-books and on the statute-books of every State, including Illinois, a far-reaching and thoroughgoing compensation act by which

* Speech at Freeport, Ill., Sept. 8, 1910.

there should be paid automatically a certain specified sum to any man who is crippled in any industry such as railroading and to the kinsfolk of any man who loses his life therein. It should not be left to lawsuits. Lawsuits are objectionable on three different grounds. In the first place, there is always a chance that an excessive amount of damages may be recovered—more than the railroad ought to pay. In the next place, there is always a chance that no damages will be recovered, and, therefore, the man on whose behalf the suit is brought will get nothing; and, finally, the only person certain to benefit from the suit is the lawyer, who is the only person who ought not to have any interest in it.

We are past the stage when it was assumed to be right that the loss, in the event of disaster, should fall on the shoulders least able to bear it. When a railroad man is crippled in the performance of his duties he is the one person of all others who should not pay the penalty of that loss. He is working for the corporation, and the corporation is working for the general public—for us—and the loss should be distributed. The way to do that is to provide that, under government supervision, automatically and without lawsuits, certain sums of money shall be paid to those who suffer in life or limb as the result of accident, the corporation paying these sums and getting from the public in return enough to make the amounts good. Gentlemen, farmers of Illinois, shippers of Illinois, we wish to see that the rates of the railroad are not excessive. We must also see that they are ample enough to give a reasonable profit to the investors and to pay reasonable wages and reasonable compensation for accidents to workmen on railroads. Now, that is what I mean by a square deal.

It was an especial pleasure to be introduced to-day

by Mr. Morrissey because there are very few men in the United States who aided me more, and to whom I turned more freely than to him, while I was in the White House and wished aid and advice; and I was able to do so, friends, because, while he was an ardent railroad man and represented the interests of the railroad men, he was also, and primarily, a good American citizen. Now, one of the honors that I prize most highly is my membership in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. I value it so because I think those men are of the type I like to think of as typical of American citizenship, and because the organization is fundamentally managed as an organization should be—in conformity with the law and in conformity with the interest and best judgment of the American people. Mr. Morrissey introduced me as a friend of labor; and I am proud to be so introduced. As I have said before, I will do anything in my power for the working men except what is wrong, and I won't do that for him or any one else. And, now, friends, you applaud that! I don't suppose I shall ever be in public life again; and, if I am, there is always a chance that the occasion may come when I may make my words good. I don't know whether you will applaud that! If you don't, it won't be my fault; it will be yours. I will do my best to help you in every way to get a square deal. Where, as in the matter of compensation, for instance, the laws are such that you do not get a square deal, I will try to get the laws changed. I will try to get the rules of the game right, but you have got to play the game. If there is one lesson that I would rather teach to the wage-worker and to the man of the unions than anything else it is his bounden duty, not only to the nation, but to the labor organization and the union and Brotherhood, to

see that it is managed in accordance with laws; to see that the conduct of its members is in accord with the laws, and that it is so managed as to command the respect and good-will of the American people.

And just so, my friends and you men of the Brotherhoods, I prize the good-will of you and the men like you more than almost anything I prize on earth; but I prize my own self-respect even more; and if ever in a moment of passion or folly you turn against the law and try to pull down the law, then I will stand against you. I don't care whether I lose your good-will and the good-will of all the people; but I would not be your friend if I did not; I would not be worthy of your friendship if I did not. And, therefore, friends, I ask those at the head of the Brotherhoods; I ask the rank and file of the Brotherhoods, to stand behind the heads, who are partly led by them and partly directed how to lead; I ask them to stand steadily for the only course of conduct which is consistent with good citizenship. I ask them to stand as American citizens should stand for the course of conduct which will add to the great measure of regard and respect in which the American people hold these organizations.

My friends, I speak to you in this way for the very reason that I am on your side of the fight. Whatever can justly be done to give a more real measure of equality of opportunity in American life I will join in doing; just so far as it is humanly possible to break the connection between big business and politics, I will join in breaking it; just so far as it is possible to drive the special interests out of politics, I will take part in driving them out. I will do all that in me lies to see that, while the rich man gets justice, he does not do injustice to any one else. He shall get justice; he is entitled to it;

and he shall get no more because he is not entitled to any more. I will work as far as in me lies for such changes in the laws and for such increased honesty in the execution of the laws as will help to bring about constantly better conditions in our American life. I stand for progressive policies. I am not speaking of partisan politics; I am speaking for the welfare of the American people. I stand on that side; and, therefore, friends, I watch with a peculiarly jealous eye the men who in the name of progress would seek to lead you astray. There are always men who appeal to those who suffer, or if they suffer from injustice they appeal to them to do injustice in their turn. Avoid like the plague the leadership of such men. The very fact that we want justice should make us beyond all other men fight zealously to do justice.

We cannot afford to do any wrong to any rich man and to the head of any corporation. We cannot afford it, in the first place, because it would be wrong to do so, and, in the next place, because it would ultimately be a wrong to ourselves to do so. Here in Illinois, the State of Lincoln, none of us are to be pardoned if we do not work in Lincoln's spirit, if we do not work for the uplift of the plain people, and yet in the spirit of broadest charity to all men. Woe to us if, under the guise of uplifting popular rights, we do wrong to some one else. You never get right for any man by wronging some other man. We—all of us—are human; very much so; and it is pretty easy to remember what the other fellow ought to do, easier than to practise what we ought to do. Keep this ever before you: your duty to your neighbor, as well as what is due from him to you. Do that; and remember that you never will get your neighbor to treat you as he ought to if you do not

make it evident that you will treat him as you ought to. Insist upon your own rights and remember your own duties. Of the two, lay a little more stress on the duties than on the rights.

25

LAW, ORDER, AND JUSTICE *

I FIND that my speech was put down as being a speech upon law and order. I have asked that it be changed —that it be put down as a speech upon law, order, and justice.

Ever since I have been in Ohio I have been hearing of the lamentable conditions here in Columbus due to the street-railway strike. Both sides have written to me stating the case as they saw it, and each side urged me to come. While I freely say that I did not like to come, I like still less to dodge.

The first essential to the achievement of justice is that law and order shall obtain, that violence shall be repressed, that the orderly course of law shall be unobstructed, and that those who commit violence shall be sternly punished. But while this is the first vital essential toward the achievement of justice, it is of value primarily as leading up to justice. After law and order have been obtained—not before, after—then comes the question of seeing that absolute justice is done.

I am not competent to speak as to the exact facts, or in detail, of your trouble here. I have received from reputable men conflicting allegations as to what has occurred; so that all I can do is to set forth certain general principles which apply here as they apply in all similar cases.

In the first place, there must be obedience to the law; there must be a cessation of violence and bad con-

* Speech at Columbus, Ohio, September 10, 1910.

duct. It is admitted by almost every one that there have been repeated and brutal acts of violence, ranging from actual assault to bomb-throwing, and, finally, to the use of that weapon of the meanest, the basest, and the most cowardly type of assassin—dynamite. There is not much to choose among assassins; but the assassin who tries to kill a man, or men, with dynamite and himself escape all personal risk occupies an evil eminence on the table-land of infamy. Now, the first requisite is to establish order; and the first duty of every official, in State and city alike, high and low, is to see that order obtains and that violence is definitely stopped. One of the things of which I am proud is my connection with the New York police force. I have the greatest regard for the policeman who does his duty. I put him high among the props of the State; but the policeman who mutinies, or refuses to perform his duty, stands on a level lower than that of the professional lawbreaker. Such a policeman ranks with the soldier who mutinies in the face of the enemy, and should be consigned to the same pit of oblivion. I ask, then, not only that civic officials perform their duties, but that you, the people, insist upon their performing them. You are not to be excused if you fail to demand that your representatives perform the first duty of civilized people by seeing that violence is stopped and that the laws are obeyed.

I ask this particularly of the wage-workers, and employees, and men on strike. It is to the interest of everybody that law and order shall prevail; but it is specially to their interest because the question of the rights and wrongs of the controversy cannot be settled as they should be settled until there is order, until the law is observed. I ask them, not merely passively, but

actively, to help in restoring order. I ask them to clear their skirts of all suspicion of sympathizing with disorder, and, above all, the suspicion of sympathizing with those who commit brutal and cowardly assaults.

If it be true—I don't know whether it is true or not—but if it is, as alleged to me—if it be true that the attorneys of the strikers habitually appear for every miscreant who is arrested for assaulting cars, for assaulting other people, and furnish them bail bonds, then, in their own interest and for their good name, let the wage-workers get rid of the attorneys. Let them get rid of the attorney who by such action inevitably tends to cast a doubt upon the sincerity of the expressions of the men who disclaim sympathy with those outrages.

And, now, what I have said of the laboring men applies just as much to the capitalists and the capitalists' representatives. A year ago, Judge Sater sat in southern Ohio on a case brought before him affecting the striking miners. An injunction was asked for against the miners. He declined to give it, and read to both parties from the bench a lecture to which, for their good fortune, they paid heed. He told the miners that their worst foes were among themselves, among those members and sympathizers who committed acts of violence; and he told the employers that if they, by their hired men and representatives, committed acts of violence, they, in their turn, occupied the same disgraceful position that their opponents occupied; that the law was the same for both, and justice and good conduct were demanded alike of each party to the controversy.

In all great labor struggles, not only are the capitalists and the employees parties in interest, but there is another party, and that third party is the people as a

whole. You here are the party in interest, and peculiarly so in a controversy like the present, where a public-service corporation is involved which has a peculiar and special connection with the government and with the people.

Now, then, your first duty is, as I have said, to see that law and order obtain. It is the duty of your representatives in public life to demand it of the lawbreaker, not as a favor, but as a right, which you will punish him for failing to fulfil; and it is to the interest of all of you to demand it, but, most of all, it is to the interest of the wage-workers. But your duty does not stop there. It has only just begun. There can be no justice without law and order; but law and order are well-nigh valueless unless used as a foundation upon which justice is built up as a superstructure.

As I have said to you, conflicting statements have been made to me as to the original cause of the trouble. It has been alleged to me by reputable men that originally the trouble began because of the discharge of certain men who asked for an increase in wages. It has been alleged to me that the struggle has been continued because of the open or covert determination of the employers not to permit a union to exist among their employees. Both allegations have been denied, and I have no facts before me which enable me to decide whether or not they are correct.

As to the first allegation, it would be an act so infamous to discharge a man because he asked for an increase in wages, that I can hardly believe it can have occurred. But it would be almost as bad to discharge a man because he belonged to, or was preparing to enter, or organize, a union. I am an honorary member of a union myself. If I were a wage-worker, I should

certainly join a union; but when I was in I would remember that I was first of all an American citizen. Uncle Sam comes on top in everything. I would certainly join a union. In our modern industrial system the union is just as necessary as the corporation, and in the modern field of industrialism it is often an absolute necessity that there should be collective bargaining by the employees with the employers; and such collective bargaining is but one of the many benefits conferred by wisely and honestly organized unions that act properly. Of course, it is outrageous to force a man to join a union, just as it is outrageous to take part in, or encourage, the so-called secondary boycott; but it is no less an outrage to discriminate against him because he wishes to have a union, or to refuse to deal with a union when organized. The union has the same right to exist that the corporation has, and it is as unfair to refuse to deal with it as it is to refuse to deal with the corporation. Show your willingness to give the union its full rights, and you will be stronger when you set your faces like flint, as I have set mine, against the union when it is wrong. So that as soon as law and order have been obtained, it becomes your duty, you, the people, through your municipal or through your State authorities, to insist upon a thorough investigation by competent and disinterested authorities who will put before us an authoritative statement of the rights and wrongs of both sides; and then demand a thoroughgoing remedy for any wrong.

A case like this should be always a matter for mediation or arbitration. If such is refused by either party, shape your laws so that mediation and arbitration can be secured. If you need to have a constitutional amendment for your purpose, amend the constitution; but

don't wait for the amendment to see substantial justice done in this case. See to it.

I have got but two minutes more. I have not spoken long; but you will admit I have spoken to the point. See to it that you find out the facts and find out what the corporation has done. If it has acted properly, decide in its favor; if it has not, decide against it. If there has been injustice done, see that the injustice is remedied. See that the public-service corporation acts for the service of the people. If the municipal and the State authorities mean business they can make the corporation do what is right. See that the evil is remedied, and that you are guaranteed against a repetition of the evil. In short, my friends, I can sum it up in this way: You, the people here, have two duties in this crisis. You have to face the need of exercising two prime duties of American citizenship—insistence upon law and order, and the use of that insistence as a stepping-stone for obtaining justice. Law and order first.

To-morrow is Sunday; to-morrow is a time when you may be threatened with disorder. The wage-workers and the representatives of the companies should make it evident that they wish the law absolutely obeyed; that there is no chance of saying that either the labor organizations or the corporation favors lawbreakers or lawbreaking. But let your public servants trust, not in the good-will of either side, but to the might of the civil arm, and see that law rules, that order obtains, and that every miscreant, every scoundrel who seeks brutally to assault any other man—whatever that other man's status—is punished with the utmost severity. Keep order now. Frown on disorder and violence now, and put them down with ruthless severity; and then, friends, when you have obtained law and order, re-

member that it is useless to have obtained them unless upon them you build a superstructure of justice. After finding out the facts, see that justice is done; see that injustice that has been perpetrated in the past is remedied, and see that the chance of doing injustice in the future is minimized. Take these two positions, and you will have deserved well, not only of the city of Columbus, not only of the State of Ohio, but of the people of the great Republic in which we are living and in whose citizenship we exult without measure.

VII

THE WELFARE OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

26

THE WOMAN AND THE HOME *

In our modern industrial civilization there are many and grave dangers to counterbalance the splendors and the triumphs. It is not a good thing to see cities grow at disproportionate speed relatively to the country; for the small landowners, the men who own their little homes, and therefore to a very large extent the men who till farms, the men of the soil, have hitherto made the foundation of lasting national life in every State; and, if the foundation becomes either too weak or too narrow, the superstructure, no matter how attractive, is in imminent danger of falling.

But far more important than the question of the occupation of our citizens is the question of how their family life is conducted. No matter what that occupation may be, as long as there is a real home and as long as those who make up that home do their duty to one another, to their neighbors and to the State, it is of minor consequence whether the man's trade is plied in the country or the city, whether it calls for the work of the hands or for the work of the head.

But the nation is in a bad way if there is no real home, if the family is not of the right kind; if the man is not a good husband and father, if he is brutal or cowardly or selfish, if the woman has lost her sense of duty, if she is sunk in vapid self-indulgence or has let

* Address before the National Congress of Mothers, Washington, D. C., March 13, 1905.

her nature be twisted so that she prefers a sterile pseudo-intellectuality to that great and beautiful development of character which comes only to those whose lives know the fulness of duty done, or effort made and self-sacrifice undergone.

In the last analysis the welfare of the State depends absolutely upon whether or not the average family, the average man and woman and their children, represent the kind of citizenship fit for the foundation of a great nation; and if we fail to appreciate this we fail to appreciate the root morality upon which all healthy civilization is based.

No piled-up wealth, no splendor of material growth, no brilliance of artistic development, will permanently avail any people unless its home life is healthy, unless the average man possesses honesty, courage, common sense, and decency, unless he works hard and is willing at need to fight hard; and unless the average woman is a good wife, a good mother, able and willing to perform the first and greatest duty of womanhood, able and willing to bear, and to bring up as they should be brought up, healthy children, sound in body, mind, and character, and numerous enough so that the race shall increase and not decrease.

There are certain old truths which will be true as long as this world endures, and which no amount of progress can alter. One of these is the truth that the primary duty of the husband is to be the home-maker, the bread-winner for his wife and children, and that the primary duty of the woman is to be the helpmeet, the housewife, and mother. The woman should have ample educational advantages; but save in exceptional cases the man must be, and she need not be, and generally ought not to be, trained for a lifelong career as the family

bread-winner; and, therefore, after a certain point the training of the two must normally be different because the duties of the two are normally different. This does not mean inequality of function, but it does mean that normally there must be dissimilarity of function. On the whole, I think the duty of the woman the more important, the more difficult, and the more honorable of the two; on the whole I respect the woman who does her duty even more than I respect the man who does his.

No ordinary work done by a man is either as hard or as responsible as the work of a woman who is bringing up a family of small children; for upon her time and strength demands are made not only every hour of the day, but often every hour of the night. She may have to get up night after night to take care of a sick child, and yet must by day continue to do all her household duties as well; and if the family means are scant she must usually enjoy even her rare holidays taking her whole brood of children with her. The birth-pangs make all men the debtors of all women. Above all our sympathy and regard are due to the struggling wives among those whom Abraham Lincoln called the plain people, and whom he so loved and trusted; for the lives of these women are often led on the lonely heights of quiet, self-sacrificing heroism.

Just as the happiest and most honorable and most useful task that can be set any man is to earn enough for the support of his wife and family, for the bringing up and starting in life of his children, so the most important, the most honorable and desirable task which can be set any woman is to be a good and wise mother in a home marked by self-respect and mutual forbearance, by willingness to perform duty, and by refusal to sink into self-indulgence or avoid that which entails

effort and self-sacrifice. Of course there are exceptional men and exceptional women who can do and ought to do much more than this, who can lead and ought to lead great careers of outside usefulness in addition to —not as substitutes for—their home work; but I am not speaking of exceptions; I am speaking of the primary duties. I am speaking of the average citizens, the average men and women who make up the nation.

Inasmuch as I am speaking to an assemblage of mothers I shall have nothing whatever to say in praise of an easy life. Yours is the work which is never ended. No mother has an easy time, and most mothers have very hard times, and yet what true mother would barter her experience of joy and sorrow in exchange for a life of cold selfishness, which insists upon perpetual amusement and the avoidance of care, and which often finds its fit dwelling-place in some flat designed to furnish with the least possible expenditure of effort the maximum of comfort and of luxury, but in which there is literally no place for children?

The woman who is a good wife, a good mother, is entitled to our respect as is no one else; but she is entitled to it only because, and so long as, she is worthy of it. Effort and self-sacrifice are the laws of worthy life for a man as for the woman; though neither the effort nor the self-sacrifice may be the same for the one as for the other. I do not in the least believe in the patient Griselda type of woman, in the woman who submits to gross and long-continued ill treatment, any more than I believe in a man who tamely submits to wrongful aggression. No wrong-doing is so abhorrent as wrong-doing by a man toward the wife and the children who should arouse every tender feeling in his nature. Selfishness toward them, the lack of tenderness

toward them, lack of consideration for them, above all, brutality in any form toward them, should arouse the heartiest scorn and indignation in every upright soul.

I believe in the woman's keeping her self-respect just as I believe in the man's doing so. I believe in her rights just as much as I believe in the man's, and indeed a little more; and I regard marriage as a partnership, in which each partner is in honor bound to think of the rights of the other as well as of his or her own. But I think that the duties are even more important than the rights; and in the long run I think that the reward is ampler and greater for duty well done, than for the insistence upon individual rights, necessary though this, too, must often be. Your duty is hard, your responsibility great; but greatest of all is your reward. I do not pity you in the least. On the contrary, I feel respect and admiration for you.

Into the woman's keeping is committed the destiny of the generations to come after us. In bringing up your children you mothers must remember that while it is essential to be loving and tender, it is no less essential to be wise and firm. Foolishness and affection must not be treated as interchangeable terms; and besides training your sons and daughters in the softer and milder virtues you must seek to give them those stern and hardy qualities which in after-life they will surely need. Some children will go wrong in spite of the best training; and some will go right even when their surroundings are most unfortunate; nevertheless an immense amount depends upon the family training. If you mothers through weakness bring up your sons to be selfish and to think only of themselves, you will be responsible for much sadness among the women who are to be their wives in the future. If you let your

daughters grow up idle, perhaps under the mistaken impression that as you yourselves have had to work hard they shall know only enjoyment, you are preparing them to be useless to others and burdens to themselves. Teach boys and girls alike that they are not to look forward to lives spent in avoiding difficulties, but to lives spent in overcoming difficulties. Teach them that work, for themselves and also for others, is not a curse, but a blessing; seek to make them happy, to make them enjoy life, but seek also to make them face life with the steadfast resolution to wrest success from labor and adversity, and to do their whole duty before God and to man. Surely she who can thus train her sons and her daughters is thrice fortunate among women.

There are many good people who are denied the supreme blessing of children, and for these we have the respect and sympathy always due to those who, from no fault of their own, are denied any of the other great blessings of life. But the man or woman who deliberately foregoes these blessings, whether from viciousness, coldness, shallow-heartedness, self-indulgence, or mere failure to appreciate aright the difference between the all-important and the unimportant—why, such a creature merits contempt as hearty as any visited upon the soldier who runs away in battle, or upon the man who refuses to work for the support of those dependent upon him, and who, though able-bodied, is yet content to eat in idleness the bread which others provide.

The existence of women of this type forms one of the most unpleasant and unwholesome features of modern life. If any one is so dim of vision as to fail to see what a thoroughly unlovely creature such a woman is, I wish he would read Judge Robert Grant's novel, "Unleavened Bread," ponder seriously the character of

Selma, and think of the fate that would surely overcome any nation which developed its average and typical woman along such lines. Unfortunately, it would be untrue to say that this type exists only in American novels. That it also exists in American life is made unpleasantly evident by the statistics as to the dwindling families in some localities. It is made evident in equally sinister fashion by the census statistics as to divorce, which are fairly appalling; for easy divorce is now, as it ever has been, a bane to any nation, a curse to society, a menace to the home, an incitement to married unhappiness, and to immorality, an evil thing for men, and a still more hideous evil for women. These unpleasant tendencies in our American life are made evident by articles such as those which I actually read not long ago in a certain paper, where a clergyman was quoted, seemingly with approval, as expressing the general American attitude when he said that the ambition of any save a very rich man should be to rear two children only, so as to give his children an opportunity "to taste a few of the good things of life."

This man, whose profession and calling should have made him a moral teacher, actually set before others the ideal, not of training children to do their duty, not of sending them forth with stout hearts and ready minds to win triumphs for themselves and their country, not of allowing them the opportunity and giving them the privilege of making their own place in the world, but, forsooth, of keeping the number of children so limited that they might "taste a few good things"! The way to give a child a fair chance in life is not to bring it up in luxury, but to see that it has the kind of training that will give it strength of character. Even apart from the vital question of national life, and re-

garding only the individual interest of the children themselves, happiness in the true sense is a hundredfold more apt to come to any given member of a healthy family of healthy-minded children, well brought up, well educated, but taught that they must shift for themselves, must win their own way, and by their own exertions make their own positions of usefulness, than it is apt to come to those whose parents themselves have acted on and have trained their children to act on the selfish and sordid theory that the whole end of life is "to taste a few good things."

The intelligence of the remark is on a par with its morality, for the most rudimentary mental process would have shown the speaker that if the average family in which there are children contained but two children the nation as a whole would decrease in population so rapidly that in two or three generations it would very deservedly be on the point of extinction, so that the people who had acted on this base and selfish doctrine would be giving place to others with braver and more robust ideals. Nor would such a result be in any way regrettable; for a race that practised such doctrine—that is, a race that practised race suicide—would thereby conclusively show that it was unfit to exist, and that it had better give place to people who had not forgotten the primary laws of their being.

To sum up, then, the whole matter is simple enough. If either a race or an individual prefers the pleasures of mere effortless ease, of self-indulgence, to the infinitely deeper, the infinitely higher pleasures that come to those who know the toil and the weariness, but also the joy, of hard duty well done, why, that race or that individual must inevitably in the end pay the penalty of leading a life both vapid and ignoble. No man and no woman

really worthy of the name can care for the life spent solely or chiefly in the avoidance of risk and trouble and labor. Save in exceptional cases the prizes worth having in life must be paid for, and the life worth living must be a life of work for a worthy end, and ordinarily of work more for others than for oneself.

The man is but a poor creature whose effort is not rather for the betterment of his wife and children than for himself; and as for the mother, her very name stands for loving unselfishness and self-abnegation, and, in any society fit to exist, is fraught with associations which render it holy.

The woman's task is not easy—no task worth doing is easy—but in doing it, and when she has done it, there shall come to her the highest and holiest joy known to mankind; and having done it, she shall have the reward prophesied in Scripture; for her husband and her children, yes, and all people who realize that her work lies at the foundation of all national happiness and greatness, shall rise up and call her blessed.

27

BROTHERHOOD AND THE HELPING HAND *

I CANNOT express how deeply touched I am at the action of the State of Georgia, my mother's State, the State from which I draw half the blood in my veins, in erecting as the Georgia State House at the Jamestown Exposition a replica of my grandfather's house at Roswell, Ga.; the house in which my mother passed her youth and where she was married to my father. It is an act of gracious courtesy and consideration which I very deeply appreciate; and through the governor and other representatives of Georgia I desire from my heart to thank all her citizens. Georgia's history is unique, for she alone among the original thirteen colonies and the subsequent new States added thereto, was founded with a consciously benevolent purpose, with the deliberate intent to benefit mankind by upbuilding a commonwealth along carefully planned lines of social, political, and religious liberty and justice. Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, was a true apostle of philanthropy and of equality of opportunity for all. His set purpose was to found a State the gates of which should be open to the oppressed of every land and creed, and closed to every form of political, religious, or industrial bondage or persecution. His colony welcomed alike those who fled from political or social tyranny, and those, whether Christian or Jew, who sought liberty for conscience's sake. It was a high and honorable beginning; and I am proud, indeed, of my Georgian ancestry,

* Address at the Georgia State Building, Jamestown Exposition, Jamestown, Va., June 10, 1907.

and of the fact that my grandfather's grandfather, Archibald Bulloch, was the first governor, or as the title then went, President of the new State, when the Continental Congress, of which he was also a member, declared that the Thirteen States had become a new and independent nation. Since then Georgia has grown at a rate even more astounding than the rate of growth of the nation as a whole; her sons have stood high in every field of activity, intellectual or physical; and rapid though her progress has been in the past, it bids fair to be even greater in the wonderful new century which has now fairly opened.

Perhaps the very fact that I am half Southern and half Northern in blood, and that for many years I was brought into peculiarly close association with the life of the great West, makes it natural for me to feel with intensity the strong sense of kinship with every portion of our great common country, which should be the birthright of every true American. Since I have been President I have visited every State and Territory within the borders of the Union, save such as can only be reached by sea. I have travelled from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. I have spoken at country fairs, to colleges, to commercial and business organizations, to associations of professional men, to labor organizations, to men of every creed and parentage. The thing that has struck me most has been the essential oneness, the essential unity, of our people.

In the fundamentals I have found American citizens to be just about the same everywhere. In whatever locality of the country we live, whatever our fortune or occupation in life, there exist just about the same essential good qualities and much the same shortcomings in

any gathering of our citizens. Of course, each community has its especial temptations, its especial shortcomings; and if it is wise each community will try to cure itself rather than to cause heartburnings by railing at the shortcomings of a sister community. There is ample field for the reform energies of every one of us in his or her particular sphere of home and neighborhood activity.

Not only is all of this true as between one community and another, but it is just as true between one class of our citizens and another. Now and then we meet well-meaning people who have a genuine horror and dread of all rich men and think of them as being set apart by peculiar vice and iniquity. Now and then we meet equally well-meaning rich men who have an equally irrational dread of those whom they style "labor leaders." In each case I think the hostility is in large part due to a want of sympathy caused by complete ignorance of the men who arouse such distrust or anger. As a matter of fact, if we take a given number of men of large fortune and a like number of wage-workers, we find that in their essential human nature they are all alike. In each group we find men as wise and as foolish, as good and as bad as in the other group. Such being the case it is certainly well that, so far as possible, when the men of a given group, as a whole, act in a way that we deem contrary to the public interest, we should treat the action as a wrong to be remedied rather than as a wrong to be avenged. We ought not to tolerate wrong. It is a sign of weakness to do so, and in its ultimate effects weakness is often quite as bad as wickedness. But in putting a stop to the wrong we should, so far as possible, avoid getting into an attitude of vindictive hatred toward the wrong-doer. He may be morally to blame

and it may be necessary to punish him; but, on the other hand, the wrong he has committed may simply be due to the existing condition of things, to conditions under which he has been brought up; and in such a case, while we must apply the remedy, and see that there is no further chance of harm to the community, it is neither just nor far-sighted to exact revenge for what has been done. In short, friends, let us realize that in very truth we are knit together in ties of brotherhood, and that while it is proper and necessary that we should insist upon our rights, we should yet be patient and considerate in bearing with one another, and in trying, so far as in us lies, each to look at the problems that face us from his brother's standpoint as well as from his own.

During the last quarter of a century this nation has made astounding strides in material progress, and in no other section has this progress been more noteworthy than in the South. While her agriculture has grown faster than ever before, there has also been a new growth of her manufacturing industries—indeed, there has been growth of every kind. But of course there is ample room for further growth. The South will be all the better for new immigrants of the right type, and I hope to see steamship-lines carrying such immigrants established at ports like Savannah and Charleston, just as I hope to see ports like New Orleans connected by lines of steamers with the South American continent, the continent with which our relations should grow ever closer and mutually more advantageous. In the South, as everywhere through the Union, we need to see a good education given free to all children, no matter what may be their race or color. Nor can we wisely permit this education to be of a merely literary type. More

and more we are growing to realize that there must be an education of the hand as well as of the head. There must be agricultural and industrial colleges, and, above all, schools in which there can be elementary preparation for agriculture and industry. These schools for technical training will hold a great place in the future in fitting our citizens for doing their economic duties in the best possible shape. In the South there is a population peculiarly fitted to profit by them, a population which has been generally referred to as "poor white," a population of splendid capacities, and almost purely of the old native stock, which simply lacks the opportunity to develop a degree of industrial efficiency unsurpassed elsewhere on this continent.

It is a matter for congratulation that there is such a steady increase of interest in the Southern States in everything pertaining to children. This has already markedly shown itself, and I hope will still more markedly show itself in the future, in warring against the evil of child labor in factories. The factory is a very poor place indeed for a child; indeed, personally I think the factory a poor place for a woman—certainly for a married woman, or for an unmarried woman for more than a very few years. In any community organized on really healthy lines the average woman will have quite enough to do in her own home, whether she is rich or poor; and nowhere else can she do work of such value to the nation as a whole—and by work, I mean her housework, her work as housewife and mother, and not so-called "home industries." As regards children, it is as essential to look after their physical as their mental training. We cannot afford to let children grow up ignorant; and if they are sent to school they cannot, while young, also work hard outside without detriment, physi-

cal, mental, and moral. There is urgent need for the health authorities to increase their care over the hygienic conditions and surroundings of children of tender years, and especially to supervise those in the schools. It is a good thing to try to reform bad children, to try to build up degenerate children; but it is an even better thing to try to keep healthy in soul, body, and mind those children who are now sound, but who may easily grow up unsound if no care is taken of them. The nation's most valuable asset is the children; for the children are the nation of the future. All people alive to the nation's need should join together to work for the moral, spiritual, and physical welfare of the children in all parts of our land. I am glad that there has been founded a national society of public-school hygiene, and I wish it, and all its branches, well in every way.

There is increasing need that the welfare of the children should be effectively safeguarded by governmental action; with the proviso, however, that this action shall be taken with knowledge and in a spirit of robust common sense; for philanthropy, whether governmental or individual, is a curse and not a blessing when marked by a spirit of foolish sentimentality and ignorance. Such governmental action is merely one inevitable result of the ever-increasing growth of our complex industrialism. Decade by decade, it becomes more and more necessary that, without sacrificing their individual independence, the people of this country shall recognize in more effective form their mutual interdependence, and the duty of safeguarding the interest of each in the ultimate interest of all. We have inherited and developed a superbly self-reliant individualism in this country. I most earnestly hope that it will not be lost, that it will never be exchanged for a deadening social-

ism. The only permanently beneficial way in which to help any one is to help him to help himself; if either private charity, or governmental action, or any form of social expression destroys the individual's power of self-help, the gravest possible wrong is really done to the individual. Nevertheless, as the conditions of life grow more complex, it is not possible to trust our welfare only to the unbridled individual initiative of each unit of our population working as that unit wills. We need laws for the care of our children which were not needed when this country was in its infancy. We need laws for the control of vast corporations such as were not needed when the individual fortunes were far smaller than at present, and when these fortunes were not combined for business use. In the same way we need to change our attitude toward labor problems from what that attitude was in the days when the great bulk of our people lived in the country with no more complex labor relations than is implied in the connection between the farmer and the hired help.

For example, the great increase in mechanical and manufacturing operations means a corresponding increase in the number of accidents to the wage-workers employed therein, these including both preventable and inevitable accidents. To the ordinary wage-worker's family such a calamity means grim hardship. As the work is done for the employer, and therefore ultimately for the public, it is a bitter injustice that it should be the wage-worker himself and his wife and children who bear the whole penalty. Legislation should be had, alike from the nation and from the States, not only to guard against the needless multiplication of these accidents, but to relieve the financial suffering due to them. Last winter Congress passed a safety-appliance law

which marked a long stride in the right direction. But there should be additional legislation to secure pecuniary compensation to workmen suffering from accidents, and when they are killed, to their families. At present both in the sphere covered by national legislation, and in the sphere covered by State legislation, the law in too many cases leaves the financial burden of industrial accidents to be borne by the injured workmen and their families; and a workman who suffers from an accident either has no case at all for redress or else must undertake a suit for damages against his employer. The present practice is based on the view announced nearly seventy years ago that "principles of justice and good sense demand that a workman shall take upon himself all the ordinary risks of his occupation." In my view, principles of justice and good sense demand the very reverse of this view, which experience has proved to be unsound and productive of wide-spread suffering. It is neither just, expedient, nor humane, it is revolting to judgment and sentiment alike, that the financial burden of accidents occurring because of the necessary exigencies of their daily occupation should be thrust upon those sufferers who are least able to bear it, and that such remedy as is theirs should only be obtained by litigation which now burdens our courts.

As a matter of fact there is no sound economic reason for distinction between accidents caused by negligence and those which are unavoidable, and the law should be such that the payment of those accidents will become automatic instead of being a matter for a lawsuit. Workmen should receive a certain definite and limited compensation for all accidents in industry, irrespective of negligence. When the employer, the agent of the

public, on his own responsibility and for his own profit, in the business of serving the public, starts in motion agencies which create risks for others, he should take all the ordinary and extraordinary risks involved; and though the burden will at the moment be his, it will ultimately be assumed, as it ought to be, by the general public. Only in this way can the shock of the accident be diffused, for it will be transferred from employer to consumer, for whose benefit all industries are carried on. From every standpoint the change would be a benefit. The community at large should share the burden as well as the benefits of industry. Employers would thereby gain a desirable certainty of obligation and get rid of litigation to determine it. The workman and the workman's family would be relieved from a crushing load.

The National Government should be a model employer. It should demand the highest quality of service from its employees and should care for them properly in return. Congress should adopt legislation providing limited but definite compensation for accidents to all workmen within the scope of the Federal power, including employees in navy-yards and arsenals. Similar legislation should follow throughout the States. The old and inadequate remedy of suit for negligence would then gradually disappear.

Such a policy would mean that with increased responsibility of the employer would come increased care, and accidents would be reduced in number. The temporary burden involved will not hamper our industries. Long experience of compensation laws in other countries has demonstrated their benefit. What we advocate is only a simple measure of justice, only one step toward the goal of securing, so far as human wisdom

can secure, fair and equitable treatment for each and every one of our people.

As a corollary to the above let me point out the extreme unwisdom of the railway companies in fighting the constitutionality of the national employers' liability law. No law is more emphatically needed, and it must be kept on the statute-books in drastic and thoroughgoing form. The railroads are prompt to demand the interference and to claim the protection of the Federal courts in times of riot and disorder; and in turn the Federal Government should see to it that they are not permitted successfully to plead that they are under the Federal law when thereby their own rights can be protected, but outside of it when it is invoked against them in behalf of the rights of others. If it is proper for the Federal courts to issue injunctions in behalf of railroads, it is proper that railroads should be held to a strict liability for accidents occurring to their employees. There should be the plainest and most unequivocal additional statement, by enactment of Congress, to the effect that railroad employees are entitled to receive damages for any accident that comes to them as an incident of the performance of their duties, and the law should be such that it will be impossible for the railroads successfully to fight it without thereby forfeiting all right to the protection of the Federal Government under any circumstances. In the same way there should be rigid Federal legislation to minimize all railway accidents.

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THE CONSERVATION OF WOMANHOOD AND CHILDHOOD *

Mr. Chairman, friends, men and women of the city in which I was born: I felt I could not refuse to speak to you to-night, because I appreciated the privilege too much of talking on such a subject, to such an audience, and when I say such an audience I am not speaking in a language of empty compliment. If I thought you only came here to be amused and then to go home, it would not have been worth while to come. It is a waste of my time to come here, and a waste of your time to be here to listen to me, unless you are here with the purpose of trying actually to put into practice what I say, in so far as you agree with me. I think there will be a certain number of you who won't agree with me, before I get through. That has happened before.

The longer we study social problems the stronger our feeling must grow, if we are wise, that there is no one patent remedy offering a complete solution for all our ills; and also, the stronger must become our feeling, if we are wise, that that fact makes it all the more incumbent upon us to work for every remedy that will measurably better what is in need of betterment in human conditions. We must work then for each partial remedy that may alleviate something of the misery of mankind, that may cause a measurable betterment in the condition of children, women, and men. Permanent good

* Address at New York City, October 20, 1911, under the joint auspices of the Civic Forum and the Child Welfare League.

from efforts such as this can only come if with clear-sighted recognition of the manifold evils around us and resolute courage in combating them we combine that broad and equable health of soul which declines to put its faith in any one patent cure-all, and which, above all, declines to let its indignation at wrong and its sympathy for suffering be turned into an angry vindictiveness and uncharitableness which would in the end merely aggravate the suffering and increase the wrong. It is curious to see how actual facts give the lie to the theorist who finds the root of all human trouble in any one tendency or set of tendencies, and it is no less curious, and a little disheartening, to see how mankind refuses to profit by the knowledge.

In this country, for instance, we have one set of entirely well-meaning men who insist that our present social system is as perfect as human nature will stand, that all we need is to stop agitation and unrest and that the ills of poverty will be cured and can be cured by each individual showing industry, temperance, thrift, and sobriety. We also have another set who insist that the only complete cure will assuredly come if capitalism, or as they term it, capitalistic exploitation of the masses, can be stopped. I wish the apostles of both schools could be persuaded to look across the Pacific Ocean and see what is actually the case in China, or, that at least, they would read about it in the pages of a real observer like Professor Ross, of the University of Wisconsin. There are in China several hundred millions of workers whose condition, judged by our standards, or indeed by any standard, are far lower than the condition of any considerable number, of any number anything like as great, of workers in America or Europe. The individuals of this class are industrious, thrifty, frugal,

temperate, probably to a greater degree than is the case with any corresponding class in our own country or in Europe, and yet for reasons the discussion of which would be entirely alien to my purpose this evening, they have remained for many generations at a level of want and misery below all but the very lowest depths of the lowest and most submerged sections of Western society. Their condition shows the absurdity of thinking that the virtues named can, in the absence of other qualities, and in and of themselves, save a people. (Let me here make a parenthetical statement: a small number among you will go home to-night and say that I said that I did not think temperance and thrift and sobriety virtues; let me anticipate that remark by saying that I do, and they know I do; I am merely pointing out that no one set of virtues will save mankind.) But the condition of these people not only shows that those virtues alone, if unaccompanied by others, will not save mankind, but also shows that the favorite remedy advocated by the professional Socialist is itself a quack remedy. The professional Socialists of the type to which I refer insist that all our evils are due to capitalism. In enormous stretches of country where the misery is greatest among these Chinese populations, there is absolutely nothing even remotely resembling capitalistic exploitation; in parts where the recurrent destruction by famine and the diseases incident to famine is most appalling, where the level of well-being in the daily life of the enormous mass of the population is lowest, there is no kind of capitalistic development, no class of capitalists, and hardly any people of riches. Capitalism has had absolutely nothing to do with promoting this misery, for in much of this region there is not much inequality of condition; the rich have not

grown richer (they have not grown rich at all), and yet the poor have grown as poor as they can possibly be.

I hope I have made myself clear. I do not mean that there are not evils of a very grave kind in this country of ours, due to our capitalist system; I think there are. Neither do I mean that it is possible to win success without being industrious, frugal, temperate. What I mean is that our nation, if it is to go forward as it should, cannot afford to rely on any one set of virtues, however important; and, on the other hand, that we cannot afford to believe that we shall accomplish our results by warring against any one set of evils, however vicious. We have to rely on a very great number of manifestations of very varied good qualities. You all of you know in practice that this is true; you know that when you speak of the man or woman you most admire, you think of him or her as a well-rounded character, as a character developed on many sides, not developed alone upon one side and wanting on others. You know you would not have your boy not brave and not honest; and yet if he is of a cantankerous nature he may cause as much misery in the household as if he lacked courage and honesty. The same is true about women—I know men better, but I can talk of women, too! No one remedy and no one virtue is enough, and no one evil begins to occupy the whole field of evil. Antitoxin is a mighty good thing in cases of diphtheria; because it will not cure cancer, it would be foolish to refrain from using it in diphtheria, or to denounce it as a quack remedy for that reason, but if we permitted ourselves to say it cured cancer and everything else, we would make it a quack remedy; it would become a quack remedy subjectively, so to speak, not objectively. I ask for governmental action when such action will avail against

the evils of either capitalism or individualism, or any other evils; I also ask that we show individually the qualities of industry, thrift, and temperance—we shall not accomplish anything if we fail to show such qualities. But what I wish you to remember is that no single quality or set of qualities is of itself sufficient to cure all the evils of the body politic, and that these evils are far too complicated for us to attribute them all to any one tendency, or to any one set of tendencies, no matter how varied.

Accordingly, friends, I do not come here to-night to tell you that I have one patent cure-all which, if adopted, will mend all that is out of gear in the body politic, but to insist with all the emphasis that there is in me upon the need of adopting certain remedies which will meet certain great and crying evils. Of recent years this country has rightly awakened to the need of conservation. We have begun to realize that we are guilty of a crime against our children if we hand over to them a wasted heritage. But we are guilty of an even greater crime if we hand over the heritage to a weakened and impoverished and debilitated childhood. We are not to be excused if we fail to hand over to the next generation a material heritage unwasted; still less are we to be excused if we hand over that heritage to a wasted generation.

It is not my purpose to-night to speak to you in detail of the machinery that should be provided for the protection of women and children in industry and in the home in this State and throughout the Union. I could not speak of them in detail in seven such nights. There are many sides to the question and many needs to be met, and we need the carefully thought out suggestions of the various experts who have dealt with

each of these many sides in order to frame appropriate legislation to meet each of the various needs. But the experts can accomplish nothing unless there is an aroused public sentiment behind them able to translate itself into the efficient demand which will result in action by our public servants, state and national. There comes in your part, my hearers. That is why I said to you at the beginning that it was not worth my while to speak to you or your while to come and listen to me, unless my words are susceptible of being translated into deeds, and unless you try to translate your acquiescence in what I say into an efficient determination to see that acquiescence take shape as action. You have got to have action as a result of such a meeting as this, or it is really a little worse to have held the meeting than not to have held it; for if you treat this just as an agreeable titillation of the senses you have just by so much weakened the spring of action within you.

In this work most must be done by the State governments, but much also can be done by the National Government, and the first thing that should be done at Washington is to pass the legislation for the establishment in the Department of Commerce and Labor of a bureau, the purpose of which shall be to gather full information, official information, as to the condition of children and of child legislation in all the States of the Union, a bureau to be known as the Children's Bureau. It is difficult to act in one State when you can't find out what is being done in other States, and it is a spur to action in each State if there is a means of effectively publishing at the national capital the shortcomings in that State. Five years ago, when I was President, I recommended to Congress on several different occa-

sions, the enactment of such a law. But I was not always able to persuade Congress to look at things like that, as I did! For five years the passage of that law has been successfully resisted, and, friends, the reason why, I firmly believe, is to be found in the fact that that law appeals to no great special interest. We cannot make any selfish appeal for the passage of that law, and, on the other hand, every man who has a selfish interest in the exploitation of child labor is against the passage of that law. Therefore, I ask you to make the general interest of the community your special interest, and to see that there is pressure brought to bear for the passage of that law.

The States have more to do than the nation as regards this problem. New York State, owing to legislative shortcomings, but especially, I regret to say, owing to exceedingly hurtful and mischievous judicial decisions, stands far behind where it ought to stand. Fortunately, it shows signs of waking up.

The New York State Factory Commission was recently appointed (especially because of the dreadful horror of the factory fire that you all remember a few months ago) to inquire into the conditions under which manufacturing is carried on in the larger cities of the State, including a wide scope of investigation as to the hazard to life because of fire, the securing of fire prevention, and prevention of accidents by machinery, to look into unsanitary conditions, to examine statutes and ordinances dealing with these matters, and to recommend their improvement. We have reason to hope and to believe that this commission will recommend advanced legislation of the most practical kind, which shall work a radical change for the better in the vitally important matter which it is investigating. But the

commission is apparently not empowered to deal with tenement-house factories nor with some other matters as important. And remember, in parenthesis, as I shall say again and again this evening, the law will not be sufficient; you have to have more than law, you have to have public opinion to back up law, and you have to have some kind of power lodged in the hands of those who suffer wrong, or you cannot entirely remedy the ills from which they suffer. That is why I believe with all my heart in the organization of working women; the need for this is even more vital than the need for working men's organization. The best legislation can only be thoroughly enforced if the Labor Department officials can count on the active backing of organizations of women workers.

I am not speaking to an audience that knows much of, or has any special fondness for, labor-unions. I believe in them. If I were speaking only to them, I should explain to them their shortcomings (speaking with the frankness of an open nature); and I should hold that I was unfit to advise them for their betterment if I had any more fear of opposing a labor-union when it goes wrong than of opposing a capitalistic corporation when it goes wrong. And I hold that the nominal friend of the people is the foe of the people, if he fears thus to oppose any section of the people, rich or poor, organized or unorganized, weak or strong, when that section goes wrong.

But besides the organizations of individuals and individual action, we need law. New York State should put a stop to manufacturing in tenement-houses. I know perfectly well that trouble would be caused, dislocation of industry, hardship, when that was done, but I am convinced by thirty years' experience of work in

New York that we cannot work the reform that must be worked without putting a stop to manufacturing in tenement-houses. This State leads in the amount of manufacturing carried on in tenement-houses. The labor law contains no provisions to prevent the employment of children nor to restrict the working hours of minors or women in tenements. It provides merely that work of certain specified articles (forty-one in number) may not be carried on in a tenement living-room without a license. No one knows the actual extent of home work in New York City, as the inadequate force of inspectors of the State Labor Department cannot cover all the tenements where work may be carried on. Any of you who have had actual experience, as I have had, in acting with legislatures (I have served within and without those bodies; as executive, very much of the time without them), know that after passing a law which they are reluctant to pass, one of their favorite methods of nullifying that law is to refuse a sufficient appropriation to have it carried really into effect. The incomplete figures from the labor records show over twelve thousand tenements licensed for home work. Actual experience has shown that under present conditions home work is a serious menace both for the workers and for the public. A home workshop is neither a home nor a factory. The institution of the home from earliest times has surrounded itself with peculiar rights and traditions. To make it a "factory annex" is an invasion of the home which should not be tolerated. The home workshop is a factory without a closing hour. I mean that literally. Home work and congestion, bad ventilation and dark rooms go hand in hand.

Since 1894 the State has attempted to control tene-

ment-house manufacture by a system of regulation. Burdened by numerous other duties, the Labor Department can now detail regularly for New York City, with its millions of inhabitants, only four inspectors to go over the tenement-house districts and see whether the law is observed. (It is not these inspectors who are to blame because the law is not observed; it is you and I who share that blame because we permit the law to continue on the statute-books and yet permit such insufficient appropriations to be made under it.) The fact that the welfare of the workers is seriously menaced, that home life is broken up, and that the public health is in danger through use of tenement-made articles, makes imperative some action looking toward a remedy. Moreover, tenement-house labor introduces unskilled and unsupervised work, including that of very young children, in competition with skilled labor in the shops, thus tending to lower the proper wages of labor, and enabling unscrupulous employers to avoid the expense of shops and the necessity of submitting to supervision by encouraging piece-work in the tenement-houses. The reasons for suggesting the appointment of a commission rather than the presentation of a bill are various.

The information at present at hand is not as complete as is desirable for laying the foundation for legislation, and above all, for converting public opinion. You listen to me to-night and more or less lukewarmly agree with what I say, but I have not the time or opportunity to put before you all the facts which would convert your tepid acquiescence into flaming zeal; and still less can I do that for the general public. We must have the facts brought before the public so as to arouse the public to the need of action, to make them understand what tenement-house factories mean, especially

to the children. Only through such a commission would it be possible to present to the courts which later will be called upon to construe the law, a collective body of evidence showing the reasons which moved the legislature to the adoption of the specific enactment, whatever form it may finally take.

The court of appeals of this State held in the case *re* Jacobs that a statute forbidding the manufacture of tobacco in tenement-houses was not constitutional, because not shown clearly to be a health measure. If we cannot secure, as we ought, a flat reversal of this mischievous decision, then it would be well to obtain through a commission such convincing, comprehensive data as would exclude doubt of the immediate connection between work in tenements and injury to the health of the workers, especially to the children, and of the spread among ultimate consumers of whatever communicable disease can be carried in articles worked upon. Such a commission could give authoritative data showing why the reasoning in the Jacobs case is wholly inapplicable to modern conditions; it is an infamous wrong to permit such a decision to stay on the statute-books. The people should have power themselves to reverse such a decision; no court should be allowed to impose such iniquity as a rule of procedure on a great commonwealth without giving to the people themselves the right of ultimate decision in the matter.

One of the terrible things is the employment of hundreds of children five years of age and upward. I ask you, mothers and fathers, to think of your own children when they were five, and how you would like them to be employed at hard labor. The work of these children in connection with the fruit and vegetable canning factories has been held to be agricultural. Canning under

a shed in a labor colony has been held, I say, to be agricultural! It is carried on, as a matter of fact, in sheds which are structurally a part of or adjacent to the factory, and a child-labor colony is established around each factory; hundreds of them under fourteen, very many under ten, work in these canning places. You must go back to the conditions a century ago in the coal-mines of England before you will find conditions as bad as those obtaining now North and South in some of the industries where we allow children to work; and yet we speak of England, which has remedied these things, and of Germany which would not allow such conditions, as "effete monarchies"!

During 1909, legislation was introduced seeking to eliminate child labor under an amendment, but the canners were able to defeat the bill. Next January the bill will be reintroduced and I hope it will be passed.

During the last session of the New York legislature, the Assembly passed a fifty-four-hour bill, intended to restrict the working hours of women and young girls to fifty-four hours a week, and cutting the day down to nine, or a possible ten, hours. The new bill was defeated by the action of the canners, who desire total exemption for their industry during four summer months. These people sometimes require women to work for seventy or eighty hours a week. I am convinced that those who have told me that in many of these industries women and young girls do work seventy and eighty hours a week have told the truth, and there is no law under which we can adequately stop it. In the interest of all working women this law should be uniform. To exempt one industry means opening the way for many other seasonal industries. I am not asking that New York take the lead in this act of justice.

I am not so optimistic as that. I merely ask that New York do not lag hopelessly behind. Connecticut, Maine, New Hampshire, Minnesota, already have fifty-eight-hour laws, and Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, and Utah have fifty-four-hour laws; Wisconsin, California, Washington, and Arizona even shorter. Every attempt to shorten the work of women in this State has been violently fought by every large interest, especially that of the canners. In 1910, not satisfied with this, they sought an amendment providing that during the period from June 15th to October 15th, such workers might be employed overtime in the factories without restriction as to hours, so long as the work did not exceed an *average* of ten hours a day for the season. Cases were brought before me where girls and women employed in factories worked till 3 A. M., and began again at 7 A. M. Do you wonder I wish to see a law put on the statute-book—and construed by the courts as constitutional—which will allow us to prevent such an infamy?

But it is little use to have labor laws if we let them be enforced primarily to give jobs to politicians. Last July the New York State Civil Service Commission had an unannounced hearing and exempted from examination the eight new physicians or supervision inspectors of the Bureau of Factory Inspection, carrying a salary of two thousand five hundred dollars apiece. The offices were created to strengthen the enforcement of the labor law under the recommendations of the Wainwright Commission (which has done such excellent work). Only experienced and well-qualified persons should be appointed to positions of such responsibility, yet now these places have been thrown open to political patronage, and miscellaneous and unsuitable candi-

dates are besieging the Civil Service Commission for appointments. I consider this action of the New York Civil Service Commission a most serious assault upon efficient factory inspection.

Now, friends, confession is good for the soul, and when we have confessed our own faults we are justified in pointing out in a friendly spirit that some of our neighbors have faults to mend also. New York State is behind in its child-labor laws; but there are some other States even farther behind. For seven years the National Child Labor Committee and other agencies have attempted to raise the age limit to fourteen years throughout the Union. Surely, that is low enough. Surely, no girl or boy should be allowed to work under the age of fourteen! I remember being shown a picture of the father of seven children, fourteen years old and under, who were working in a certain cotton-mill, and the picture of this lanky gentleman, with his feet higher than his head, was labelled "A Dependent Widower"! He had lost the unfortunate wife who had supported him and now was making the children support him. None of the great cotton-mill States of the South have reached the fourteen-year standard. The employment of children of twelve or ten years in the cotton-mill industry is not only a disgrace to the employers and the community permitting it, but a reproach to the American public. Nor are cotton-mills the only offenders. Children as young as five and six years work all winter in oyster and shrimp canneries on the Gulf coast, in Florida and elsewhere. Thousands of them work all summer in Maryland and Delaware vegetable-gardens and canneries, and all winter in Southern packing-houses. No law protects them, yet the work in which they are engaged is often ruinous to their health. This

is a democracy; the spring cannot rise higher than its source. What kind of government, what kind of social conditions will you have from an electorate where the grown men and women have spent their childhood in such fashion?

I lack the power to paint for you the hideous misery and hopelessness of some of these children's lives. Let me give you one instance; an instance typical rather than exceptional.

Last summer, Alma Whaley, a textile-mill girl in Knoxville, Tenn., drank carbolic acid to commit suicide. When examined, she revealed the existence of a suicide pact among the textile-mill girls, whose life was such that they felt that death was preferable to the slavery in which they lived and toiled. A very good citizen of Knoxville who interested herself in the case, writes about it as follows:

"In regard to Alma Whaley, a cotton-mill girl, she is fourteen years old, pale, thin, and has worked for four years ten hours per day. She asked her mother to let her rest and her mother said no, so she tried to end her life. Drank carbolic acid. The mother is a widow with six children, ignorant and dirty, and almost impossible to do a thing for. She will not allow the girls to go to the country (at my expense). I have done what I could, but the future looks hopeless for the girl unless she can be taken from her mother. There are many cases as bad as this right here."

Surely, there should be laws which will enable society to interfere in such cases, to protect the poor child from the employer who exploits her young life, and from the unnatural parent who sells the life for exploitation.

To-night I speak to you primarily of childhood and motherhood. But I must say a word of fatherhood also.

All three must be considered together, for the fundamental question is that of the family, which includes all three. Normally the man must be the bread-winner; and the women and children will necessarily suffer if the men are killed or crippled, or labor under conditions which inevitably tend to brutalize and degrade them.

The development of modern large-scale production has brought about a very rapid increase in the number of workmen employed in the industries which are operated without stopping twenty-four hours every day for seven days a week. These continuous industries are new phenomena; just as factories with dangerous machinery were new phenomena a comparatively short time ago. There must be new legislation and new and enlightened methods of judicial interpretation of law to reach the new conditions. To quote the counsel of the Factory Commission: "It has become increasingly clear that it is the duty of the State to safeguard the worker not only against the occasional accidents, but the daily incidents of industry, not only against the accidents which are extraordinary, but against the incidents which are the ordinary occurrences of industrial life." In just the same way it has become the duty of the State to safeguard the worker against the "daily incidents" of a trade which takes the shape of inhuman toil.

With respect to this necessarily continuous seven-day work, our old Sunday laws, dating back to an earlier generation, have necessarily broken down. Relief to the workers can be afforded only by increasing the labor force one-seventh—to let part of the force off each day in the week—in that way giving every man one day of rest in seven. Legislation is needed to bring this about in this country, just as it has been brought about in

France and other civilized countries. And such legislation would be sustained by the courts if they followed the logic on which the Sunday laws now on the statute-books have been sustained; that is, as an exercise of the police power in protecting men from continuous toil. Priests, ministers, and physicians of every mill town in America where the seven-day work governs could testify how it undermines the happiness and health of the people.* The progressive men of one big industry where it has been at its worst—steel—are tackling this seven-day schedule, and it looks as though they were going to be able to down it. The American Iron and Steel Institute has passed resolutions to that effect. So has the Federal council of Churches of Christ in America, representing churches with a membership of thirty million. It is high time we had six-day statutes, and that they were enforced, and in continuous industries we must also come to an eight-hour day, a three-shift day.

The workmen who put in the longest hours were classified by the New York State Bureau of Factory Inspection in a group labelled "sixty-three hours and over." That group includes roughly everybody above the ten-hour men—men who work from sixty-three to one hundred and nineteen hours a week. The report of this bureau for 1909 shows that out of five thousand and fifty-nine workmen employed in the most important steel centre in New York State, four thousand five hundred and eighty-four fell in this class. Figures are dry. I wish each of you would think what hard physical labor for seven days, aggregating one hundred and nineteen hours, means, and then make up your mind whether or not you sympathize with me in my firm determina-

* Read the report of the Survey of Pittsburgh.—T. R.

tion to do everything I can to have laws construed to be constitutional, by which we can limit those hours.

Before I speak in closing, as I shall, about laws, I want to speak of one striking case where justice has been recently done by broad-minded men who worked for justice far beyond the limit to which the law required them to go. I recently received a pamphlet which seems to me a tract that should be in the hands of every man or woman seriously interested in the effort to secure fair play and justice for the men, women, and children of our country. It happens that it deals primarily with men—and with women and children only as affected by the deaths of their husbands and fathers; but the fundamental principles of justice and fair play are the same everywhere, and every one interested in the betterment of conditions of work and life among women and children must of necessity be interested in the betterment of the relations between labor and capital, the betterment of the conditions of the breadwinner of the family upon whose welfare the welfare of the women and the children of the family largely depends. It was Doctor Rainsford, whose management of St. George's Church made that church a factor of enormous importance in the social work of this city, who sent me this pamphlet. It was prepared by Miss Sarah Barnwell Eliot, and issued through the University Press of the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tenn., a university which has always been honorably prominent in practically working for justice and honor and decency, and the betterment of mankind. The pamphlet is called "An Epoch-making Settlement Between Labor and Capital," and it gives the result of the settlement made through the action of a self-appointed mediator, a Mr. Williams, a good citizen who worked

on his own initiative in getting together representatives of the United Mine Workers, and President Earling, of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, to arrange for compensating the sufferers from the Cherry disaster, the awful mine horror which resulted in the killing of two hundred and seventy miners, who left one hundred and sixty widows and four hundred and seventy children, four hundred and seven being too young to work. Think what the figures mean! Think of what it meant in that community when two hundred and seventy bread-winners were killed, what it meant to the one hundred and sixty widows and the four hundred and seven children too young to work. I am not talking to you to-night about abstract things, but about flesh and blood and the ills of flesh and blood, and on behalf of the movement to fight for that which in my judgment is the only thing worth while being in politics for. Now, under the law—I shall not try to give the details—it would not have been possible to give anything like adequate compensation to these poor people. The company legally responsible for what had happened only had property to the value of about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and they had to get the president of the railroad which was run in connection with the mine to say that their company would take responsibility for which it was not legally liable, but for which it was morally responsible. Now, I have not hesitated to attack the big railroad man when I thought he was going wrong; and I do not hesitate to applaud him when he does right. Mr. Earling acted like a high-minded patriot in this matter. A solution was reached by voluntary agreement, and this illustrates what I have said, that while there must be good laws, there must also be good instruments to carry them out, and that

in addition to the need of good instrumentalities you have to have in the community the right type of spirit in the individuals of the community, the readiness to respond to the right type of appeal. In this case there was no adequate law, and no law, however adequate, could have accomplished for the good of a terribly stricken community what was accomplished by these two good citizens, Mr. Earling and Mr. Williams, who acknowledged in plain common-sense fashion, and yet in an elevated spirit, their moral obligation in the face of disaster to their fellows. The work they did was in itself a mighty good; it was also a great good because it was an inspiration to other private citizens; and finally, it was also an example and inspiration to public servants.

From what I have said already you will see that I do not believe that legislation by itself is sufficient or anything like sufficient. But it remains true that we cannot do any permanent good unless we have the proper laws, both national and State. In order to get these laws we must first get an aroused and intelligent public conscience. The people must be made to understand the need and the duty of acting. Then the law-making and the law-administering branches of the government must be made responsive to this popular demand so that the legislators shall enact the proper laws, and governors, mayors, and other executive officers carry them out.

And finally, my friends, all this is not enough. Experience during the past twenty-five years has shown that the people may be aroused to sound and high thinking, and their legislative and executive officers may show the intention of carrying out the people's purpose, and yet the whole movement for good come

to naught and festering wrong and injustice be perpetuated because certain judges of certain courts (excellent men, well-meaning men) are steeped in some outworn political or social philosophy, and totally misapprehend their relations to the people and to the public needs. Now, I am coming to the most serious part of what I have to say this evening (and now I am about to test your ability to put yourselves in the places of your brothers and sisters). I shall speak of laws which do not affect and cannot affect any of you here, but which vitally affect other men and women, who toil for their livelihood with their hands, massed together, and who live and sleep also massed together in tenement-houses, and I shall ask you to think not of yourselves—I do not ask you to do anything for your own benefit, although the appeal is also to help your children and your children's children, for they will find this a mighty poor country in which to live if social justice does not obtain in it—I ask you to remember, each of you, that each of you is and must be his brother's and his sister's keeper. Furthermore, I am entirely aware that no matter how carefully I guard what I have to say, no matter how cautiously and exactly I state the bald facts and truths that we should all recognize, yet that what I say will assuredly be misrepresented by certain persons with the deliberate purpose of misleading honest and conservative citizens into the belief that I am advocating something radical and revolutionary and destructive of our governmental system, and that I am making "an attack" upon the judges. But I feel it is my highest duty to speak plainly on this subject so vital to our common welfare.

Let me at the outset put so clearly, that only wilful misinterpretation can deceive people, just what my

position as to the courts is. I have the very highest regard, the highest respect and admiration for the judiciary. As a whole I think that our judicial officers stand on a higher level than any other body of public servants or private citizens. I believe the courts have rendered our people incalculable services. I hold that the attitude of our people toward them should be one of appreciation and respect; *but not of servility.* In the words of Patrick Henry: "If that be treason, make the most of it!"

I am a layman, but I take toward the courts precisely and exactly the attitude taken by the lawyer Abraham Lincoln, a man who earned his livelihood by the practice of law, a man who adhered to a high standard of legal ethics and believed in the legal profession, but who was a citizen and a statesman first, and a lawyer second. We should all, whether business men, editors, lawyers, mechanics, farmers, or writers, be citizens first and members of our several professions next, and, if public men, we should in our sympathies and principles and practices be statesmen first, and, only after that, lawyers, or business men, or editors, or writers, or members of any other profession. I criticise the decisions of judges only by adopting as my own the language used about these same decisions by the highest judges in the land, by, for instance, the present chief justice of the United States, Mr. Justice White, by Mr. Justice Holmes, by that great and upright servant of the people, the lamented Justice Harlan, by the supreme court of the State of Iowa and by the supreme court of the State of Washington; or by private citizens like James Bradley Thayer, the greatest professor of law Harvard University ever had. I have never taken a position in advance, hardly one abreast, of that taken by Abraham

Lincoln, when, in his first inaugural, immediately after swearing to uphold the Constitution, he said: "If the policy of the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, in ordinary litigation between parties, in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges." I challenge my critics to put this sentence of Abraham Lincoln's parallel with the strongest words I have said or shall say on the subject, and point out any essential difference between them. Moreover, it ought not to be necessary to say that in criticising the public acts of a public servant, whether judicial, legislative, or executive, I am not making any attack on the man personally. There are men to whom I am personally devoted, and for whom in their private capacity I have the very highest regard, with whose views on public questions I wholly disagree. In every great crisis of our national development there have been men of the highest character, men who in most respects reached the highest level of good citizenship, who nevertheless took what I believe to be the wrong side. The public servant may render bad service to the public, as the general at the head of an army may, no matter how estimable and honorable a man he may be privately; and what is true of the military officer is no less true of the civic official —of the judge, of the legislator, of the executive.

Under our American system of government the judge occupies a position such as he occupies nowhere else in the world, a position that makes him, so far as the negative side of legislation is concerned, the most important

legislative official in the country; for, of course, it is merely to repeat a truism to say what was so well said by an English bishop two centuries ago, and what has been quoted again and again since, by Mr. Justice Holmes among others: "Whoever hath an absolute authority to interpret any written or spoken laws, it is he who is truly the lawgiver to all intents and purposes, and not the person who first wrote or spoke it." In some most vital respects the judges have become more truly the lawgivers than either the executive or the legislative bodies, State or national, can be. In no other country is this permitted as with us. In Europe, when the people have spoken and definitely declared their mind through the legislature, the courts carry out the popular wish and apply it as formulated in law. But here the courts decide whether or not that wish shall be granted, whether or not the people are to have their will. Surely, none will contend that the judge is not the servant of the people, and it behooves us to look carefully into any tendency to turn him into master instead of servant, so that the created rules the creator.

I emphatically believe that we have been wise in giving great power to our judges, including this power of judicial interpretation of statutes to see whether they conform to the fundamental law of the land. But I also firmly believe that like any other power, this power can be abused, and that it is a power which the people have temporarily parted with and not one which they have permanently alienated. Used moderately and only in the clearest cases, as it has been used by our greatest judges from the days of Marshall to the present time, as it is defended by writers such as Mr. Thayer, it is fraught with the utmost good to the body

politic. Used recklessly, wantonly, and foolishly, where the case is so doubtful that the judges themselves may be divided nearly equally on the two sides (in the bake-shop decision first and last twelve judges held it constitutional while ten decided it was not, but unfortunately those ten happened to include the odd one of the nine Supreme Court justices)—where the case is so doubtful as this it results in very great evil. As it has again and again been used in recent years it results in great evil. A little later I shall quote from the judges themselves to sustain the language I use here in every particular, and in every adjective I use. It results in great evil, and has done so again and again in New York, and may result in even greater evil, for it may in the end cause such a revulsion in the minds of the people at large as to result in the taking away of this power from the judges. I should deplore and oppose taking away the power from the judges; but I very earnestly believe that in cases such as I have quoted, the people themselves should be given the chance within reasonable time to pass on the opinions of the judges, and if they so desire in effect to construe the desired law as being constitutional.

Now do not get confused as to what I am saying. I am not speaking of the judges' performance of the ordinary judicial function as performed in all countries by judges, in cases between man and man; I am speaking only of the American judges' performance of the function intrusted over the wide world only to the judge in America, the function of declaring whether or not the people have the right to make laws for themselves on matters which they deem of vital concern. During the last twenty-five years the courts in New York, helped, I am sorry to say, on certain occasions, by the Supreme

Court of the nation, have thrown what have at times proved well-nigh or altogether insurmountable obstacles in the path of needed social reforms, such as those we have come here to-night to talk about. I have come here to talk to you in behalf of reform not as an intellectual exercise, not because it is pleasant to say that virtue should prevail, but to ask you to put your strength behind these reforms and make them the law of the land. And that is why I am talking about the judges.

In this speech I have already alluded to the decision of the New York court which forbade the people of New York through legislation to interfere with certain tenement-house factories. Almost without exception, every intelligent social worker whom I have ever met has said to me that that decision struck one of the most damaging blows ever directed against the cause of reform, against any effort for the betterment in the housing conditions of our poor people. Again, in 1907, the court in the David L. Williams case declared that it was unconstitutional to fix the closing hours for the work of adult women. This decision rendered the 9 P. M. closing-hour law on the statute-book since 1888 non-enforcible. A law which cannot fix a closing hour in the working day is a farce. The court nominally acted in favor of the freedom of women workers, but in practice simply forced upon them the freedom to work unlimited hours, and whenever their employers demanded. In similar fashion our highest New York court decided that the workman's compensation law was unconstitutional. In yet another case the supreme court of the State (in a case recited in Mr. George W. Alger's admirable book "Moral Overstrain") upset the verdict obtained by a young girl who had lost her arm because her employer had not provided the safety-

guard to protect her from injury required by statute, the court holding that she had the "right" and liberty to contract and that she waived her right to recovery if she was vitally damaged or lost her limbs. Remember that these decisions so jealously protecting the rights of property and so callous in their disregard of life and limb of human beings were rendered in this State, where each year there are more than twice as many persons killed in industrial establishments as were killed in the Spanish War. I am speaking of the year 1910, of the years when these decisions were rendered, and of the years since.

I am not content to sit still under these decisions. I hold that if a majority of the people, after due deliberation, come to champion such social and economic reforms as those we are championing to-night, they have the right to see them enacted into law and become part of our governmental policy; and I shall never cease this contention until the cause triumphs. The decisions of which I have spoken are those of unquestionably upright and well-meaning judges who have proved their devotion, not to the Constitution, as they thought, but to a system of social and economic philosophy which in my judgment is not only outworn, but to the last degree mischievous because of its utter inapplicability to existing social and industrial conditions. The people must be given the power easily and with reasonable speed, to reverse such outrageous misconstruction of the Constitution by the judges.

Now, there are two questions involved, the question as to whether we are right and the question whether we have the right to decide this for ourselves. We may be wrong, but what I insist on is that we, the people, have the constitutional and moral right to try

these experiments if we soberly determine to try them, that we have a right to limit the hours of work for women and children, to fix the closing hours, to pass mandatory laws in connection with safety appliances, the right to say they shall not labor under conditions ruinous to health, or so many hours a day or days a week as to make it impossible that their lives shall be stunted and warped by excessive toil and unhealthy surroundings. Whether we are wise or not in wishing to obtain this power is open to debate, although personally I am sure we are wise in our attitude, but I do not feel like debating the proposition that it is a right which we must determine for ourselves and which we cannot afford to surrender to any body of men, no matter how well-meaning.

Now these thoroughly good, well-meaning, and upright men, these judges, want us to employ in dealing with the social and industrial evils of the day weapons as outworn as flint-lock muskets would be in fighting a modern foe. Until recently, and possibly even now, there were several laws on the statute-books of some States which decreed that the militia should carry spontoons and keep on hand three flints and several bullets for each man. They were excellent for one hundred and twenty years ago, but they are inapplicable to-day. When I was raising my regiment a couple of most high-minded and worthy War Department officials did their best to make me take black-powder muskets because they had used them in the Civil War. I did not do it, not because I felt disrespectfully toward them—I like them, I respected their past—but because I thought their philosophy outworn, fossilized, if I might use the expression. Now remember that I am only using the languages which the judges and

courts I have mentioned have used about these decisions, or others like them. Take the decision of our New York supreme court on the workman's compensation law. On September 27th, last, the court of Washington unanimously decided the other way, and stated that they had taken full heed of this decision, recognized that it was in opposition to their opinion, but were unable to agree with it. I wish you would look at it. I would ask you to turn to the first essay in Thayer's book on constitutional law. He quotes the opinion of judge after judge in support of his position that the courts should only declare a law unconstitutional when there can be no doubt in the minds of men of ordinary intelligence and good faith that their contention is just. One judge, the chief justice of the State of Georgia, puts it thus: "An act of the legislature is not to be declared void unless the violation of the Constitution is so manifest as to leave no room for reasonable doubt." The chief justice of South Carolina, speaking in 1808, uses language which it would be well indeed for the judges of to-day to ponder—and I again would challenge the men who criticise, as they will, what I have said, to put the statement of this old chief justice, made in the course of a judicial opinion, side by side with what I have said: "The interference of the judiciary with legislative acts, if frequent or on dubious ground, might occasion so great a jealousy of this power and so general a prejudice against it, as to lead to measures ending in the total overthrow of the independence of the judges and so of the best preservation of the Constitution. The validity of the law ought not then to be questioned unless it is so obviously repugnant to the Constitution that when pointed out by the court all men of sense and reflection in the com-

munity may perceive the repugnancy. By such a cautious exercise of this judicial check, no jealousy of it will be excited, the public confidence in it will be promoted, and its salutary effects be justly and fully appreciated." And yet again another justice says: "No nice doubts, no critical exposition of words, no abstract rules of interpretation suitable in a contest between individuals, ought to be resorted to in deciding on the constitutional operation of a statute. This violation of a constitutional right ought to be as obvious to the comprehension of every one as an axiomatic truth such as that the parts are equal to the whole."

I ask you simply to compare, to think of what those judges said, when you think of the decisions of which I have spoken. It is a rank absurdity to say that the violation of the statute is evident and axiomatic in a case where the present chief justice of the United States and enough of his colleagues to come within one of a majority, declare that there is no violation at all. It cannot be axiomatic that there is a violation when the chief justice and three others say that the law is entirely constitutional. It is an absurdity to say that what the supreme court of New York would establish as law is so plain as to be an axiomatic truth when the supreme courts of two other States, like Washington and Iowa, unanimously take the opposite view. The mere recital of the facts shows that such decisions are incompatible with and violate the rules laid down by the best judges, the most broad-minded judicial authorities. Every one of the decisions I have quoted is not only condemned by every practical student of social affairs, but by the decisions of scores of judges, including the unanimous decisions of courts in various other States of the Union. Such being the case, it is

idle to say that we citizens of a State of ten millions of people, having the welfare of our children and children's children deeply at heart, are to submit in silence to having our efforts to work for justice and equity thwarted, and to acquiesce in a doctrine which would compel us to stand supine and see social conditions deteriorate without making any effort to ameliorate them.

I am sure that ultimately the courts must and will come to the view that the nation and the States in their several spheres—spheres which must cover every particle of the ground where it is possible for government to act at all—have not the right only, but the duty to decide as wisdom and experience shall dictate as to the conditions which shall obtain in tenement-houses, in factories, in mines, on railroads, for preserving men, women, and children in health, life, and limb, and if they do not come to this view, then I hold that the people should be enabled with reasonable speed and in effective fashion themselves to determine by popular vote whether or not they will permit the judges' interpretation of the Constitution to stand.

I hold that the judge should be independent, of course, and so should every executive or legislative officer. I have been accused of many things when I was an executive officer, but never of lack of independence. No public servant who is worth his salt should hesitate to stand by his conscience, and if necessary, to surrender his office rather than to yield his conscientious conviction in a case of any importance. But while that is his right and duty—while it was my right and duty—it is also our right and our duty to see that the man is responsible to us, to the people; and I hold with Abraham Lincoln that we are unfit to be called a free people if we permanently surrender the right to shape

our destinies, and place this right in the hands of any man not responsible to us. I do not believe that it is wise or safe to pretend that we have self-government and yet by indirect methods to permit outsiders to rob us of self-government. I believe that the only ultimate safety to our people is in self-control, not in control from the outside. I do not believe in snap judgments; I do not believe in permitting the determination of a moment to be transmuted into a permanent policy; but I do believe that the serious, sober, well-thought-out judgment of the people must be given effect; I do believe that this people must ultimately control its own destinies, and cannot surrender the right of ultimate control to a judge any more than to a legislator or an executive. As a matter of expediency it may be, and in my opinion it is, desirable that the control by the people over the judge shall be exercised more cautiously and in different fashion than the control by the people over the legislator and the executive; but the control must be there, the power must exist in the people to see to it that the judge, like the legislator and the executive, becomes in the long run representative of and answerable to the well-thought-out judgment of the people as a whole.

One word in closing. What I have advocated is not revolution. It is not wild radicalism. It is the highest and wisest kind of conservatism.

29

WOMEN'S RIGHTS; AND THE DUTIES OF BOTH MEN AND WOMEN *

THE causes which brought about so much of dreadful failure and wrong-doing to alloy the benefits and advances which followed on the French Revolution were symbolized and foreshadowed in the action of the first revolutionary national legislature. This body passed with wild applause resolutions declaring that the people were to have all imaginable rights, and then voted down a resolution setting forth that the same people had grave and onerous duties. Much, indeed, has America owed to the fact that her two greatest men, Washington and Lincoln, though they did not neglect rights, were even more concerned with duties.

I believe in woman's rights. I believe even more earnestly in the performance of duty by both men and women; for unless the average man and the average woman live lives of duty, not only our democracy but civilization itself will perish. I heartily believe in equality of rights as between man and woman, but also in full and emphatic recognition of the fact that normally there cannot be identity of function. Indeed, there must normally be complete dissimilarity of function between them, and the effort to ignore this patent fact is silly. I believe in woman's suffrage wherever the women want it. Where they do not want it, the suffrage should not be forced upon them. I think that it would

* *The Outlook*, February 3, 1912.

be well to let the women themselves, and only the women, vote at some special election as to whether they do or do not wish the vote as a permanent possession. In other words, this is peculiarly a case for the referendum to those most directly affected—that is, the women themselves. I believe such a referendum was held in Massachusetts, in which a majority of the women who voted, voted in favor of the ballot. But they included only about five per cent of the women who were entitled to vote, and where the vote is so light, those not voting should be held to have voted no. This was in 1895. It would be well to try the experiment again in the more doubtful States like Massachusetts or New York. I should be entirely content to abide the decision, either way; for, though I do not think that the damage prophesied from women's voting would come, or has come where it has been tried, I also think that very much less effect would be produced, one way or the other, than the enthusiasts believe. In other words, I do not regard the movement as anything like as important as either its extreme friends or extreme opponents think. It is so much less important than many other reforms that I have never been able to take a very heated interest in it.

Perhaps one reason why so many men who believe as emphatically as I do in woman's full equality with man take little interest in the suffrage movement is to be found in the very unfortunate actions of certain leaders in that movement, who seem desirous of associating it with disorderly conduct in public and with thoroughly degrading and vicious assaults upon the morality and the duty of women within and without marriage. I cordially agree with Doctor C. W. Saleeby, himself a strong advocate of woman's suffrage,

when he says in his book on "Woman and Womanhood": "Every individual case requires individual consideration, and no less than any individual case ever yet received. But in general those women who counsel the delay of the marriage age are opposing the facts of feminine development and psychology. They are indirectly encouraging male immorality and female prostitution, with the appalling consequences for those directly concerned, for hosts of absolutely innocent women, and for the unborn. Further, those who suppose that the granting of the vote is going to effect radical and fundamental changes in the facts of biology, the development of instinct and its significance in human action, are fools of the very blindest kind. Some of us find that it needs constant self-chastening and bracing up of the judgment to retain our belief in the cause of woman suffrage, of the justice and desirability of which we are convinced, assaulted as we almost daily are by the unnatural, unfeminine, almost inhuman blindness of many of its advocates."

Very few men in America have stood more prominently and emphatically for sound political principles than Ida M. Tarbell. She is one of the few women who influence men along this line, which is ordinarily peculiarly a man's line of influence. Therefore both men and women can afford to listen to her when, in her introduction to the "Book of Woman's Power," she says (I condense): "Men and women have always crawled or soared together. The lot of woman is hard, but the human lot is hard. The assumption that the improvement of woman's condition depends upon the vote is quite as unsound as the charge of her inferiority. The woman in industry is, after all, but a transient. A training that will lead her to apply her power with ap-

preciation and enthusiasm to domestic and not to political life is what she needs. It is harmful and unsound to believe that woman's position in society would improve in proportion as her activities and interests become the same as those of men. This implies that man's work in society is more important and developing than woman's. But both are essential to society, and who can prove that one essential factor is inferior to another essential factor? Her aptitudes and instincts and functions are different from those of man; and her differences are her strength. She must not prove her equality by doing in his way the things the man does; but by doing the things for which she is fitted, and which the world needs from her. Life is not saved by politics, but by principles."

In his admirable book on "The College Man and the College Woman," President Hyde, of Bowdoin, lays their duty plainly before them both with equal fearlessness and good sense; and one hardly knows whether most to admire his scorn for the licentious man, for the cruel or callous or merely selfish and inconsiderate man, and his insistence upon the same standard of morality for the two sexes, or his insistence to the woman that her life will be worthless unless she bears on her own back her share of the world burden, and feels in her own heart her part of the world sorrow, in normal experience within the home, the shop, the market, doing first of all in her own household her every-day and vital duties, so that thereby, and only thereby, she may become "the comrade of all who labor, the sister of all who serve."

If the woman-suffrage movement were to be judged only by those advocates of it who discredit themselves and their sex by disorderly antics in public, and who

assail the foundations of private and public morality in their endeavor, not to raise the sense of moral duty in man, but to lower the sense of moral duty in woman, I should certainly oppose the movement. But I do not believe these undesirable apostles are in any way to be accepted as exponents of the cause, and I call attention to the fact that they are prominent, not in the region where woman suffrage does exist, but in regions where it does not exist.

I pin my faith to woman suffragists of the type of the late Julia Ward Howe. Julia Ward Howe was one of the foremost citizens of this Republic; she rendered service to the people such as few men in any generation render; and yet she did, first of all, her full duty in the intimate home relations that must ever take precedence of all other relations. There was never a better wife or mother; her children rose up to call her blessed, and the Commonwealth should call her blessed for the children she bore and reared, for the character she transmitted to them, and the training she gave them in her household. We are fortunate in being able to point to such a woman as exemplifying all that we mean when we insist that the good woman's primary duties must be those of the home and the family, those of wife and mother; but that the full performance of these duties may be helped and not hindered if she also possesses a sense of duty to the public, and the power and desire to perform this duty.

In our Western States where the suffrage has been given to women I am unable to see that any great difference has been caused, as compared with neighboring States of similar social and industrial conditions where women have not the suffrage. There has been no very marked change in general political conditions, nor in

the social and industrial position of woman. Yet what slight changes have occurred have been for the better, and not the worse. Moreover, I must say that, being a natural-born democrat, I do like to associate with people who possess every right that I possess. In those Western States it is a real pleasure to meet women, thoroughly womanly women, who do every duty that any woman can do, and who also are not only in fact but in theory on a level of full equality with men. I fail to see that these women are any less efficient in their households, or show any falling off in the sense of duty; I think the contrary is the case; and so far as their influence has affected political life at all it has affected it for good. I do not see much difference between Denver and the big cities of the East in those very matters where we would expect the influence of women's voting to count most; yet, after all, it is the women of Denver who have stood most stoutly behind Judge Lindsey. When I passed through Seattle last spring, it had just finished an election in which a most needed bit of political house-cleaning had been performed; and the votes of the women had been a potent factor in securing decent government. The same thing was notably true in the Los Angeles election the other day. A very good citizen of Los Angeles, in a position fitting him to pass judgment, writes me as follows of this contest: "By the way, Colonel, I used to be dead against woman's suffrage, and although I voted for it and wrote for it—because it seemed to me right and just and a necessary part of sincere democracy—still I dreaded the consequences. Of course one swallow doesn't make a summer, but up to date in this contest the women have conducted themselves in a way to excite the liveliest admiration. They are setting the men

a much-needed example of rapid, thorough work, with no foolish scrapping—dignified, conscientious, and effective."

Therefore I believe in woman suffrage wherever the women wish it. I would not force it upon them where, as a body, they do not wish it. I would leave the matter to be decided by vote of the women themselves. Most of the women whom I know best are against woman suffrage, and strongly criticise me for aiding in, as they term it, "forcing" it on them. But surely both the women who oppose the suffrage and the women who demand it ought to be willing to argue the matter out with the members of their own sex. If a majority of the women of a State vote affirmatively for the suffrage, it is time to give it to them. If only a small minority vote for it, it ought not to be forced upon the hostile and the indifferent majority. If benefit follows the suffrage, the suffragists will be justified. If there is weakening of moral fibre or any other evil as a result, they will be condemned, and will ultimately lose what they have gained. It is, and will ever remain, true of women as of men, that by their fruits shall ye know and judge them. Most of the women whom I know best are against woman suffrage precisely because they approach life from the standpoint of duty. They are not interested in their "rights" so much as in their obligations. They tell me that they feel that already they have as much to do as they can well attend to; that their duties are numerous and absorbing—although they are happy in doing them; and that, for the very reason that they take their duties seriously, and would accept suffrage seriously as a duty, they do not think that such a heavy additional burden should be put on their shoulders. It is, however, with me a question

whether these women, with busy, happy, duty-filled lives, are really typical of those other women who are more or less defenseless. These other women, wage-earning girls for instance, and wives whose husbands are brutal or inconsiderate, would, I believe, be helped by the suffrage, if they used it wisely and honorably. I hope that if women voted we should be able to wage a more rapidly successful war against the "white-slave" traffic and kindred iniquities.

But this would come about only if women remembered, what so many men forget, that social evils can be successfully assailed only if the assailants avoid hysteria as carefully as they shun lukewarmness, and are resolved to combine with their fervor cool-headed common sense and the willingness to look unpleasant facts straight in the face.

I most earnestly desire to emphasize my feeling that the question of woman suffrage is unimportant compared to the great fundamental questions that go to the root of right conduct as regards both men and women. There should be equality of rights and duties, but not identity of function; and with the man, as with the woman, the prime duties are those related to the home and the family. Selfishness, frivolity, viciousness, love of ease, shirking toil and risk, avoidance of all that is hard, fear of life—of the only kind of life worth living—all of these are as criminal in the man as in the woman. I am not speaking of exceptions among men and women, but of the average healthy citizen of either sex, of the citizen upon whose character and welfare the success of our great democratic national experiment depends. The first duty of the average citizen is to be a good father or mother, husband or wife. Heaping up money as the end of life or leading a life of vapid ease and

avoidance of labor and effort, or any other form of shirking duty, means the rotting of the soul. Cynical fools who advise men against marriage are fond of saying that "to go far one must go alone." But the goal reached alone is not worth reaching! Other fools, advising women to forsake their primary duties and "go into industry," prattle about the "economic dependence" of the wife. Economic dependence, forsooth! Any husband who regards his wife as "economically dependent," or who fails to recognize her as a full partner, needs severe handling by society or the State. The service of the good mother to society is the most valuable economic asset that the entire Commonwealth can show, and is of infinitely more worth to society than any possible service the woman could render by any other, and necessarily inferior, form of industry.

Motherhood must be protected; and the State should make the security of the mothers its first concern. Doctor Saleeby, in his book already quoted, utters the soundest common sense on this subject. Mothers (and children) should not be allowed to work in any way that interferes with the home duties; and widowed mothers with children and deserted mothers with children must be cared for. *But the care must not be given in such way as to encourage the man to shirk his duty.* His prime duty is to provide for his wife and his children; if he fails to do so, the law should instantly seize him and force him to do so. It should be even more severe in thus forcing him to care for his children if he has not married their mother. In such case the man has not merely grievously sinned against another human being, but has grievously sinned against society, against the Commonwealth. There must be common parental care for children by both father and mother. Marriage buttresses mother-

hood by fatherhood. Just as it is the duty of the mother to bear and rear the children, so it is the duty of the father to support the mother and children, and if he fails in this duty the State should actively interfere and force him to perform it. We should not, in a spirit of sentimentality or false humanity, permit the State to relieve him of this duty or encourage him to escape the responsibility by having the State assume it; he is the one on whom the responsibility should fall, and he should be rigidly held to the performance of his duty. "*The last way in which to secure the rights of women is to abrogate the duties of men.*" In the future it may well be that unmarried men will have to pay, as they ought to pay, a far heavier share of taxation than at present; but under no circumstances should fathers be permitted to shirk their duty of providing for their children, and the so-called reformers who advocate schemes toward this end are working for the corruption and dissolution of the entire social fabric.* Our aim must be the healthy economic interdependence of the sexes, based on equality of rights and of obligations, including the obligation of sexual and domestic morality; any attempt to bring about the kind of "economic independence" which means a false identity of economic function spells mere ruin. The home, based on the love of one man for one woman and the performance in common of their duty to their children, is the finest product of Christianity and civilization. Our consistent effort must be to strengthen it, and any movement to destroy it marks the nadir of folly and wickedness.

* In speaking of Doctor Saleeby's book, I wish to commend in the heartiest way the sound sense as well as sound morality he shows in treating of the hideous evils due to male licentiousness, evils the effect of which are felt by the entire body politic. I do not at all points agree with Doctor Saleeby; but he has rendered a great service.—T. R.

Much can be done by law, and whatever can thus be done should be done. But much more can be done by a vigorous, enlightened, and effectively aroused public opinion. Not only easy divorce, but the shameful shirking of duty by men and women which leads to such divorce and to all kinds of domestic unhappiness, and all unhealthy love of ease and vapid excitement, and inability to prize the really highest things in life, should be unsparingly condemned, not only in theory but in practice. It should be a subject of just indignation wherever a duty is shirked; and we should hold in unmeasured scorn the empty laughter of the fool who sees in such shirking of duty only matter for mirth. In one of the magazines a month or two ago, in what purported to be the "funny" column, was a story of a man proposing marriage to a woman who hesitated to accept him, and he was represented as holding out inducements, saying, "I am willing that we should have no children, so that you will be able to go to Europe whenever you want to, entertain your friends, and not be tied down," to which she answers: "Good!" Foolish and brutal jesting about infamy, about the profanation of what should be holiest in life, is the mark of revolting depravity; for public opinion to tolerate such jests and stories is as if we should tolerate an ape capering over an altar. Woe to us as a nation if our men and women, our young men and maidens, fail to face life with the brave and solemn purpose to lead it on the plane of high endeavor, and to find their supreme satisfaction in the full performance, and not the avoidance, of duty. "Mother," by Kathleen Norris, is a charmingly told story; and therefore it is a most effective tract which should teach this profound and lofty truth to many, many people who cannot be reached by the preacher or essayist.

To sum up: The point which I wish to emphasize is that the supreme importance and high position of the woman of the type of Julia Ward Howe cannot be materially increased by the possession of the ballot. I am glad that the good, wise, and brave mother should have the ballot. I am especially glad if its possession will add to the high dignity of her position in the eyes of men. But I cannot conceive of any man's now failing to hold such a mother as more worthy of respect than any man, or than any other woman. The advocates of woman suffrage, unless they utterly and mischievously lose their perspective, will necessarily remember that the highest type of the woman of the future must be essentially identical with the highest type of the woman of the present and of the past—the wife and mother who performs the most important of all social duties with wisdom, courage, and efficiency. She is the woman who is, and always has been, and always will be the most useful and important of all the citizens of the State. No other work, done by any other woman, or by any man, is, or ever will be, as vital as hers to the well-being of society. No other work is, or ever will be, as difficult or as important. There are of course individual cases where the unmarried man or unmarried woman renders great service, just as in every efficient army there are certain men who do not carry arms and who yet render indispensable service. But exactly as in the last analysis the efficiency of the army depends primarily upon the efficiency of the average man who bears arms, so in society as a whole in the last analysis the welfare of the Commonwealth rests fundamentally upon the high character of the average family—that is, upon the way in which the average father and the average mother do their duty to one another and to their children. The highest type of such family is al-

ready, in the present, of just the kind that it should be in the future. It is a partnership in which the partners are on a full equality of right, and have in common the strongest sense of duty, but in which the duties and the functions are on many points necessarily different. There should be the same level of love, of consideration, of respect and forbearance, to which each partner is bound to attain in his or her treatment of the other. Each should ever think of the rights of the other, and each should ever think of what is even more important than the rights—that is, of his or her own duties.

I believe in the movement for woman suffrage, and believe that it will ultimately succeed and will justify itself. But I regard it as of far less consequence than many another movement for the betterment of present-day conditions as affecting both men and women. I feel that, instead of having to develop in the future, as something hitherto unknown, the highest and most useful type of woman, we already have that type with us now. The all-important thing is to endeavor in every way to raise as many other individuals as possible to the serene level of this type. In the same way, the important thing to work for in marriage is to raise the average marriage relations to the level of those that already obtain in the finest type of existing marriage. No woman will ever be developed who will stand above the highest and finest of the wives and mothers of to-day and of the yesterdays. The exercise of the suffrage can never be the most important of women's rights or women's duties. The vital need for women, as for men, is to war against vice, and frivolity, and cold selfishness, and timid shrinking from necessary risk and effort.

Men and women alike must withstand the wicked folly which places the gratification of mean tastes and

ambitions and of a thirst for vapid excitement above the high happiness which can come only from the life of worthy effort spent with the full and glad performance of duty as its first object. The vice and folly of men and women, which lead to the divorce court or take shape in the curse of voluntary sterility, are fundamental evils, of prime, of capital importance. The ruin of motherhood and childhood by the merciless exploitation of the labor of women and children is a crime of capital importance. Any tendency to permit the man to shirk his duty as bread-winner, as keeper of the household, who owes his best effort to his wife and children, is an evil of capital importance. Any force or tendency which lowers the efficiency or the standard of living of either the average man or the average woman, whether on the farm or in the workshop or the store or the counting-room or the professions, is a tremendous evil, an evil of capital importance. In the long run and taken as a whole, men and women will go up or go down together, and all reforms of first-class importance must look toward raising both men and women to a higher level, alike as regards the things of the body and as regards the things of the soul.

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THE WHITE-SLAVE TRAFFIC *

Mr. Arthur Lee,† a member of the British Parliament, and incidentally a man who has always been a stanch friend of the United States, has recently rendered a striking service to the cause of humanity and decency throughout the civilized world. He has pushed through both houses of Parliament a bill dealing in drastic fashion with the "white-slave" traffic, the most infamous and bestial, the most cruel and degrading, form of criminal iniquity known to our age.

This was not a public-morality bill. Its object was not to reform the underworld, or even to cope with vice. It was simply a bill to deal with a peculiarly atrocious crime, to punish the most infamous of criminals, and to save young girls from misery so heartbreaking, misery of a kind so hideous, that it is hard to speak or to think of it without a shudder. Briefly, the measure permits the arrest on sight, or on suspicion, of all persons, male and female, who make their living out of the prostitution of others, and provides for meting out to them swift and severe punishment—including flogging for the male offenders, for the underworld is primarily a world of male criminals, and in this traffic it is the man who is by far the worst offender.

Mr. Lee is a Conservative, and in order to get this bill through he has for twelve months been working shoulder to shoulder with men of all parties, Conservatives, Radicals, Socialists, and Irish Nationalists alike.

* *The Outlook*, January 18, 1913.

† Later elevated to the peerage as Lord Lee, of Fareham.

Americans, accustomed to the way in which the national Congress and the State legislatures simply spawn bills by the gross, like female shad, can have little idea of the extraordinary difficulties which have to be surmounted in getting a non-party "Private Member" bill through the English Parliament. As far as I know, Mr. Lee's bill for the suppression of the white-slave traffic is the only Private Member's bill of importance that has become law during the last five years. It was possible to get such a bill through only by securing the co-operation and good-will of all political parties and by preventing the House of Lords and the House of Commons from coming to loggerheads. To pilot such a bill under such circumstances to a successful conclusion means a literally astounding display of energy, of judgment, of good-natured tact, and of sheer downright capacity for hard work.

One of the best features of the bill, in my judgment, is that providing for the flogging of male offenders. *The Outlook* has very properly protested against the whipping-post as an ordinary instrument of justice. But there are certain kinds of cruel and brutal offenses which are committed by creatures so beastlike that they can be reached only by being themselves made actually and physically to suffer. Wife-beaters come under this class, and so do the loathsome beings who engage in the white-slave traffic. The immediate effect of Mr. Lee's law on this portion of the underworld was quite dramatic. According to the reports both of the police and of the vigilance workers, its passage was the signal for the beginning of a general exodus of the professional white-slavers from England, so that both trains and boats for the Continent of Europe were crowded with them for several days. It is generally admitted that the

decisive feature in shifting them was the threat of the lash, the one thing they cannot stand. As the London *Times* phrased it: "By a happy provision of nature it appears that the skin becomes more tender as the moral sense becomes more atrophied."

Mr. Lee may live long and spend all his life in power and accomplish much, and yet never accomplish anything that will rightly give him greater satisfaction or that will represent a greater gain for humanity. He has made all good men and women his debtors, in whatever part of the world they dwell.

31

THE JUNIOR REPUBLIC *

I RECENTLY visited the Junior Republic, or, as it is usually spoken of because of the man who founded it and is chiefly responsible for its success, the George Junior Republic, at Freeville, N. Y. I had expected to be pleased and interested, but my interest and pleasure far outran even my expectations.

The Junior Republic is just exactly what one of its chief backers, the president of its supreme court or court of appeals, Thomas Mott Osborne, has called it. It is a laboratory experiment in democracy. Incidentally, it is in the real and deep sense of the word a reformatory. There are now about one hundred and seventy citizens, one hundred of them boys and seventy girls. Any one is admitted provided he or she has sufficient strength of character.

A boy who has gone wrong because he has too much steam in his boiler, so to speak, is admitted on a full equality with the boy who has never gone wrong at all; and the most extraordinary thing is that he is about as apt to turn out a first-class citizen, not merely of the Junior Republic, but of the larger Republic, the Republic of the American nation, when he graduates into it. The only persons excluded are those who go wrong through infirmity or feebleness of will, and this exclusion is in itself significant.

Mr. George's theory is that any boy or girl, man or

* *The Outlook*, January 20, 1912.

woman, of sufficient strength of character can by practical experience as a responsible and independent citizen be taught, or, to speak more accurately, teach himself or herself, that good citizenship is the only kind of citizenship worth having, even from the individual's own standpoint. The place is a manufactory of citizens, men and women, and I do not know any place better worth visiting, nor any place better calculated to produce in the mind of the visitor a healthy modesty about drawing conclusions too rapidly from any one set of observations.

The Republic is an educational institution of the most valuable kind, and it develops in those who attend it a really passionate loyalty, a loyalty which I think on the average surpasses that felt by the undergraduates or graduates of any college with which I am acquainted; for the average graduate of the George Junior Republic feels, as he has a right to feel, that he possesses a diploma better than any he could possibly have gotten from any other institution in the world; and he feels a corresponding sense of pride, and of obligation so to carry himself that the Republic will in its turn have reason to feel pride because of his after-career.

But, in addition to being an educational institution in the ordinary sense of a school of applied industry, it is also a school which gives the most invaluable training in the fundamental duties of citizenship. I had been told before I went there that the boys and girls literally governed themselves, that there was practically no government whatever from outside; but I had not been able to realize that the statement was to be taken as exactly true. The boys and girls live in cottages, or boarding-houses, and in each cottage or boarding-house (those for the boys as well as those for the girls) there

is a matron, who exercises a certain supervision over the cooking and the care of the rooms; in the case of the girls this matron is called the house-mother, and there is a rule that the girls do not leave the house after nightfall. But, as far as I could find, this was literally the only rule imposed from outside, and its observance and the observance of cleanliness and good conduct in the cottages or boarding-houses depended entirely upon the action of the boys and girls themselves. They make the laws and execute them through their own elective officers. Neither any of the matrons, nor Mr. George, nor Mr. Osborne—save as one of the judges, when an appeal is carried before him—nor any one else except the boys and girls, has any power whatever. The boys and girls all vote (woman suffrage is accepted as a matter of course in the real democracy of the Junior Republic), and they are responsible for every law and rule and for the carrying out of every law and rule.

The effect has been astounding. Every one is busy, every one seems happy, every one is courteous and self-respecting, and, moreover, after a very short period in the Republic almost every boy and girl accepts it all as a matter of course. An offense committed by one of their number is thought to be an offense, not against some outsider or outside body with whom or with which they have no special connection, but against themselves.

The punishments are very real and very severe. In the prison the cells are iron cages, the work is hard, the supervision is severe and continuous, and the guards have no sentimental hesitation in chastising recalcitrant prisoners. Only the boys are kept in this prison; the girls, who of course are more easily handled, have a prison of their own. The offenders are apprehended by

the Junior Republic's own officers, tried and acquitted or sentenced by the Junior Republic's own courts, and punished under the direct superintendence of the authorities of the Republic—who, by the way, I found, to my intense interest, have themselves not infrequently spent months in the jail, to which they were condemned before having learned better ways. The inmates of the prisons while I was there were being worked hard at useful employments; they were fed with an abundance of healthy but not dainty food; when not at work they were confined in steel cages. It was real imprisonment, real punishment.

But when they were once out of prison the punishment was through. The atonement was accepted as complete, and the boy took a fresh start on his own merits; and if he made good, the fact that he had been in the prison was not held in the slightest degree against him.

No boy is forced to work; but if he does not choose to work, then he does not eat! It occasionally takes him some days to realize that this is a fact and not an abstract theory with which he is confronted; but he is taught the fact by actual hunger, and then he goes to work. There are ample opportunities for him to earn his own living, but the work is real and hard, and is paid for in proportion to its value, each worker standing on his individual merits as shown by his skill and industry; the boys themselves insist on a course which develops and rewards individual efficiency. Drones and idlers are not tolerated; they are allowed to quit work if they wish, and if they work badly they are discharged; and then they find that starvation is not very far distant.

Newcomers often fail to understand just what is

ahead of them; but it takes them only a very few days to learn. The education is of the most practical kind for boys and girls alike; each, when he or she leaves the Republic, can begin a wage-earning career without the smallest break. In addition, the ones with special aptitudes can train themselves for all kinds of special careers; and all alike are turned out with special training in the applied principles of democratic citizenship of the most healthy type.

Of course this Republic is not only of very great interest in itself, but it is of very great interest as illustrating a principle. It is extraordinary to see how successful the boys and girls have been in absolutely managing their own affairs. With the trifling exceptions that I have above noted, their self-government is absolute. On two or three occasions they have steered close to very serious danger, but have always come out right in the end.

One of the most amusing and interesting of these experiences occurred a number of months ago, when a concerted effort was made to take possession of the government by certain of the boys who were actuated by corrupt motives, and who used the less strong-minded or clear-sighted of their associates as tools. By a bit of rather adroit trickery, in taking advantage of the absence of some of the citizens at a snap election, they got control of the machinery of government. They proceeded to use this control for the corrupt pecuniary advantage of some of their own number who had been foremost in the movement; the corruption being of a kind not such as one would find in an ordinary school or college, but such as one would find in the worst governed of our cities. The temptation for Mr. George to interfere was great; but he steadfastly refused all ap-

peals from the decent citizens, and told them that they would have to work out their salvation for themselves. The decent did work out their own salvation, developing the leaders demanded by the crisis in the persons of three of their number, who showed the nerve, intelligence, initiative, and entire bodily fearlessness which in their sum go to make up the highest type of good citizenship everywhere. By what was a kind of *coup d'état* they regained possession of the government and at once undid the evil that had been done. They threw the wrong-doers into jail (where later, by due process of law, they received heavy punishment) and restored the government of the Republic to a standard even higher than that which it had previously possessed. The three leaders in this counter-revolution for righteousness were among the half-dozen citizens of whom I saw most during my visit to the Republic; and I can only say of those half-dozen citizens that I can imagine no work, in war or peace, in which I would not count myself fortunate if I had them under me or associated with me.

I saw the courts in actual operation. One case was appealed to the supreme court, of which Mr. Osborne is chief justice; the others were settled by the citizen who was acting as judge. There was an evident and efficient purpose to get at the real facts; and I believe that there are very few outside courts in which miscarriages of justice are so infrequent. The sentences were severe, and, moreover, they began at once; the boy who was sentenced walked out of the court-room into the prison and instantly began to put on his prison clothes. Every detail of the business, from the hunt for the criminal, through the arrest, the trial, and the punishment, was managed solely and exclusively by the

citizens themselves; and the offender was deemed an offender, not against some outside body, but against each citizen personally—just as the idler was made to feel the disapproval of the whole community, in addition to paying the penalty of his idleness by not being able to get enough to eat. The mischief-maker, the gang-leader, the boy whose attitude has been a lawless defiance of society, and who hitherto has been fed by the admiration of his followers and his associates, as soon as he reaches the Republic finds himself cowed by popular disapproval, and by the prompt readiness of his associates to restrain him from what they regard as action taken against themselves, individually and collectively. It is not the outsider, Mr. George, Mr. Osborne, or any one else, who forces them to take this tone; it is the citizens themselves, the boys and girls, on their own initiative.

On Sunday there is always Sunday-school, and always, or almost always, church—conducted now by Protestant clergymen, now by Catholic priests, even by Jewish rabbis, sometimes all three officiating on the same day—for whoever cares to attend. Nobody is obliged to attend, and the boys certainly do not come from a class much given to church-going; but, apparently just because it is a matter of choice and not of duress, the great majority of them attend the Protestant or Catholic services, according to the Church to which they belong.

Mr. George deserves very great credit, not only for having established an institution of singular use in itself, but for having established a principle which is of wide-spread applicability. I am not prepared to say whether in its entirety and everywhere this principle can be applied to the degree which Mr. George believes.

I believe emphatically that machinery is necessary; but at all times and in all places I trust machinery less than I trust the individual—the power, the will, the good sense, and the initiative—that lies behind the machinery. Mr. George and his associates—such as Mr. Osborne, and Mr. Derrick, and the charming gentlewomen who live in the "House in the Woods," just outside the bounds of the Republic—exercise a most profitable influence for good therein. So do the various persons I met—Protestants, Catholics, and Jews—who take an intense personal interest in the work. This influence is all the stronger because neither those who exercise it nor the boys and the girls themselves are more than dimly conscious of its existence. I believe this Junior Republic has done an immensely valuable work; I believe that the principle it exemplifies can be widely applied; but I believe also that in order to make other similar institutions work as well as this has worked there will be need for just such self-sacrifice, such zealous and intelligent interest and guidance in each case, as, for its great good fortune, this particular Junior Republic has found among certain men and women of a not too common type.

It will be well if we apply widely the principles in accordance with which the Junior Republic is managed; but it is just as necessary for us as individuals to apply in practice the qualities which have enabled the men and women in question to be so useful to the Junior Republic.

VIII

NATIONAL DEFENSE

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THE GLORY OF WEST POINT *

Colonel Mills, graduates of West Point, and you, the men and women who are drawn to them by ties of kinship, or by the simple fact that you are Americans, and therefore of necessity drawn to them:

I am glad to have the chance of saying a word to you to-day. There is little need for me to say how well your performance has squared with the prophetic promise made on your behalf by the greatest of Americans, Washington. This institution has completed its first hundred years of life. During that century no other educational institution in the land has contributed as many names as West Point to the honor-roll of the nation's greatest citizens.

Colonel Mills, I claim to be a historian, and I speak simply in the spirit of one, simply as a reciter of facts, when I say what I have said. And more than that; not merely has West Point contributed a greater number of the men who stand highest on the nation's honor-roll, but I think beyond question that, taken as a whole, the average graduate of West Point, during this hundred years, has given a greater sum of service to the country through his life than has the average graduate of any other institution in this broad land. Now, gentlemen, that is not surprising. It is what we had a right to expect from this military university, founded

* Address at the Centennial Celebration of the establishment of the United States Military Academy, West Point, June 11, 1902.

by the nation. It is what we had a right to expect, but I am glad that the expectation has been made good. And of all the institutions in this country, none is more absolutely American, none, in the proper sense of the word, more absolutely democratic than this.

Here we care nothing for the boy's birthplace, nor his creed, nor his social standing; here we care nothing save for his worth as he is able to show it. Here you represent with almost mathematical exactness all the country geographically. You are drawn from every walk of life by a method of choice made to insure, and which in the great majority of cases does insure, that heed shall be paid to nothing save the boy's aptitude for the profession into which he seeks entrance. Here you come together as representatives of America in a higher and more peculiar sense than can possibly be true of any other institution in the land, save your sister college that makes similar preparation for the service of the country on the seas.

This morning I have shaken hands with many of you; and I have met the men who stand as representatives of every great struggle, every great forward movement this nation has made for the last fifty-five or sixty years. There are some still left who took part in the Mexican War, a struggle which added to this country a territory vaster than has changed hands in Europe as the result of all the wars of the last two centuries. I meet, when I see any of the older men among you, men who took part in the great Civil War, when this nation was tried as in a furnace; the men who were called upon to do the one deed which had to be done under penalty of making the memory of Washington himself of little account, because if you had failed, then failure would also have been written across the record of his work.

Finally, I see the younger men as well as the older ones, the men whom I myself have seen taking part in a little war—a war that was the merest skirmish compared with the struggle in which you fought from '61 to '65, and yet a war that has had most far-reaching effects, not merely upon the destiny of this nation, but, therefore, upon the destiny of the world—the war with Spain.

It was my good fortune to see in the campaign in Cuba how the graduates of West Point handled themselves; to see and to endeavor to profit by their example. It is a peculiar pleasure to come here to-day, because I was at that time intimately associated with many of these, your graduates, who are here. On the day before the San Juan fight, when we were marched up into position, the officers with whom I was, lost connection with the baggage and food, and I, for supper that night, had what Colonel Mills gave me. And the next morning Colonel Mills was with another West Pointer, gallant Shipp, of North Carolina. The next morning we breakfasted together. I remember well congratulating myself that my regiment, a raw volunteer regiment, could have, to set it an example, men like Mills and Shipp, whose very presence made the men cool, made them feel collected and at ease. Mills and Shipp went with our regiment into action. Shortly after it began Shipp was killed and Colonel Mills received a wound from which no one of us at the time dreamed that he would recover. I had at that time in my regiment, as acting second lieutenant, a cadet from West Point. He was having his holiday; he took his holiday coming down with us, and just before the assault he was shot, the bullet going, I think, into the stomach, and coming out the other side. He fell, and as we came up I leaned over him, and he said: "All right, Colonel, I am going

to get well." I did not think he was, but I said, "All right, I am sure you will," and he did; he is all right now. There was never a moment during that time, by day or by night, that I was not an eye-witness to some performance of duty, some bit of duty well done, by a West Pointer, and I never saw a West Pointer failing in his duty. I want to be perfectly frank, gentlemen; I *heard* of two or three instances; you cannot get in any body of men absolute uniformity of good conduct; but I am happy to say that I never was an eye-witness to such misconduct. It was my good fortune to see what is the rule, what is the rule with only the rarest exception; the rule of duty done in a way that makes a man proud to be an American, the fellow citizen of such Americans.

Your duty here at West Point has been to fit men to do well in war. But it is a noteworthy fact that you also have fitted them to do singularly well in peace. The highest positions in the land have been held, not exceptionally, but again and again by West Pointers. West Pointers have risen to the first rank in all the occupations of civil life. Colonel Mills, I make the answer that a man who answers the question must make when I say that, while we had a right to expect that West Point would do well, we could not have expected that she would do so well as she has done.

I want to say one word to those who are graduating here, and to the undergraduates as well. I was greatly impressed the other day by an article of one of your instructors, himself a West Pointer, in which he dwelt upon the changed conditions of warfare, and the absolute need that the man who was to be a good officer should meet those changed conditions. I think it is going to be a great deal harder to be a first-class officer

in the future than it has been in the past. In addition to the courage and steadfastness that have always been the prime requirements in a soldier, you have got to show far greater fertility of resource and far greater power of individual initiative than has ever been necessary before if you are to come up to the highest level of officer-like performance of duty.

As has been well said, the developments of warfare during the last few years have shown that in the future the unit will not be the regiment nor the company nor troop; the unit will be the individual man. The army is to a very great extent going to do well or ill according to the average of that individual man. If he does not know how to shoot, how to shift for himself, how both to obey orders and to accept responsibility when the emergency comes where he will not have any orders to obey, if he is not able to do all of that, and if in addition he has not got the fighting edge, you had better have him out of the army; he will be a damage in it.

In a battle hereafter each man is going to be to a considerable extent alone. The formation will be so open that the youngest officer will have to take much of the responsibility that in former wars fell on his seniors; and many of the enlisted men will have to do most of their work without supervision from any officer whatsoever. The man will have to act largely alone, and if he shows a tendency to huddle up to somebody else his usefulness will be pretty near at an end. He must draw on his own courage and resourcefulness to meet the emergencies as they come up. It will be more difficult in the future than ever before to know your profession, and more essential also; and you officers, and you who are about to become officers, if you are going to do well, have got to learn how to perform the duty

which, while become more essential, has become harder to perform.

You want to face the fact and realize more than ever before that the honor or the shame of the country may depend upon the high average of character and capacity of the officers and enlisted men, and that a high average of character and capacity in the enlisted men can to a large degree be obtained only through you, the officers; that you must devote your time in peace to bringing up the standard of fighting efficiency of the men under you, not merely in doing your duty so that you cannot be called to account for failure to perform it, but doing it in a way that will make any man under you abler to perform his.

I noticed throughout the time that we were in Cuba that the orders given and executed were of the simplest kind, and that there was very little manœuvring, practically none of the manœuvring of the parade-ground. Now, I want you to weigh what I say, for if you take only half of it, you will invert it. I found out very soon in my regiment that the best man was the man who had been in the Regular Army in actual service, out in the West, campaigning on the plains; if he had been a good man in the Regular Army in actual service on the plains he was the best man that I could get hold of. On the other hand, if he had merely served in time of peace a couple of years in an Eastern garrison, where he did practically nothing outside of parade-grounds and barracks, or if he had been in an ordinary National Guard regiment, then one of two things was true: if he understood that he had only learned five per cent of war, he was five per cent better than any one who had learned none of it, and that was a big advance; but if he thought he had also learned the other ninety-five per

cent he was worse than any one else. I recollect perfectly one man who had been a corporal in the Regular Army; this young fellow joined us sure that he knew everything, confident that war consisted in nice parade-ground manœuvres. It was almost impossible to turn his attention from trying the very difficult task of making my cow-punchers keep in a straight line, to the easier task of training them so that they could do the most efficient fighting when the occasion arose. He confused the essentials and the non-essentials. The non-essentials are so pretty and so easy that it is a great temptation to think that your duty lies in perfecting yourself and the men under you in them. You have got to do that, too; but if you only do that you will not be worth your salt when the day of trial comes.

Gentlemen, I do not intend to try here to preach to you upon the performance of your duties. It has been your special business to learn to do that. I do ask you to remember the difference there is in the military profession now from what it has been in past time; to remember that the final test of soldiership is not excellence in parade-ground formation, but efficiency in actual service in the field, and that the usefulness, the real and great usefulness in the parade-ground and barracks work comes from its being used not as an end, but as one of the means to an end. I ask you to remember that. I do not have to ask you to remember what you cannot forget—the lessons of loyalty, of courage, of steadfast adherence to the highest standards of honor and uprightness which all men draw in when they breathe the atmosphere of this great institution.

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THE LESSONS OF OUR MILITARY HISTORY *

I DO not know that you are willing to hear just the things that I think you ought to hear in connection with our military history and the lessons to be learned from our military history. Of course, I do not believe it is possible to treat military history as something entirely apart from the general national history. I will go a little further than that: I think it is utterly idle to try to understand the German victories in 1866 and 1870 unless you study the German history from the time when Stein and Scharnhorst began the reforms until those reforms reached their culmination under Roon and Moltke. I don't think that any study of the last sixty days' military operations in the Balkans would help you to understand what was done if you didn't study carefully the history of the Balkan people for at least a generation previous to this war that we have seen going on before our eyes. I am perfectly clear that the military history must be written primarily—not entirely, but primarily—by military men, and for that reason I have felt that it should be written under the observation of the general staff, but I feel that there should be the collaboration of civilians with the military writers, and if those civilian writers are of the proper type some of the most important lessons will be taught by them, and they will be among the most important lessons because they will be lessons that the

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military man can't with propriety teach. They will be criticisms of the American Government and the American people. I don't wish to see the military history written by the general staff alone, because the general staff can't with propriety tell the whole truth about the government and about the people, to the government and to the people. For instance, any history of the Spanish War to be of the slightest value to our people in the future would have to deal for two-thirds at least with the utter lack of preparation of the American nation before it went into that war, and it would have to deal not with the faults of the army but with the faults of a civilian administration of a previous generation and deal with those faults as committed not by wicked people in office on their own initiative, but because the American people hadn't waked up to the need of preparation, to the need of having whatever forces they did have efficient.

Infinitely more than a mere military question, a question of strategy or tactics, is involved in the proper military history of the United States. The attitude of the people must be corrected. If the Bulgarians had for twenty-five years been taught that questions of national honor and vital interest could be arbitrated and had believed such teachings, you couldn't have called a Bulgarian army together that could have fought—you couldn't have made them fight. If you teach a soldier that he can arbitrate a slap in the face, you have got a soldier that you can't trust to fight; and if you teach a nation so that it really believes it can arbitrate a question of national honor or vital interest you have got a nation that won't fight. And there is another side: If you teach a nation that it can promise to arbitrate and break its promise, you are teaching it a bad

lesson. If you teach a nation that to please ten or fifteen per cent of its people it can agree to arbitrate, make a promise to arbitrate a matter, with the certainty that it will repudiate that promise the instant that fifteen or twenty per cent of the people wish it repudiated, you have entered upon a bad career from the national standpoint. And you can't act that way, you can't distort the national spirit, weaken the national sense of honor, without reacting to some degree upon its army.

A proper history of the army must in part be written by the right type of civilian, because it must deal with our national shortcomings, not only governmental, but popular, and point out truthfully what those national shortcomings have cost us in the past when war came upon us. I very seriously doubt if there is any man in this country more genuinely an advocate of peace than I am; because if there was a war either I would go to it or my sons would go to it—that is, a serious war, not one of our police businesses—and I don't want to go to war, and I don't want my sons to go; so I have every personal interest in making as strong a plea for peace as any man can. But I know my fellow countrymen, and I know that no matter what general resolutions they came to in advance, no matter what the lack of preparations, they would go to war on the drop of a hat if ever the national honor or the national interest was seriously jeopardized.

The way to prevent the possibility therefore is to keep ourselves, our whole military system, the army and navy as part of the whole military system, in such a condition that there won't be any temptation on the part of any one else to go to war with us. You can't do that unless you make our people wake up to the real

meaning of our past history. The immediate past I suppose can hardly be written of sufficiently dispassionately, because to write it truthfully you would have to give great offense to so many good people, who simply happened unfortunately to be in positions where any one would have done badly under the existing conditions, and who therefore did badly; and it would be hard upon them to hold them up to scorn or obloquy for what really wasn't their fault. In consequence it would be a very difficult thing to teach the lessons of history from what has occurred while the men who did the deeds are still living.

I shan't speak of the Civil War, but I shall speak of that little war, the Spanish War, in which I was. I was assistant secretary of the navy at the outbreak of that war; it was part of my duty to help in making preparations during the three months intervening between the blowing up of the *Maine* and the actual going to war. My experiences would have been comic if they hadn't been fraught with such tragedy. If I should ever write a history of that war I should have to write very harshly of many high officers of the army and the navy, especially the army, gentlemen. The defects, for very obvious reasons, were much greater among the higher officers of the army than among the higher officers of the navy, and I should have to write with great harshness of the governmental system that had permitted those faults to grow up. It wasn't the fault of the officers of the army and navy; it was the fault of our system of the preceding thirty years. And I wish I could convey to you vividly an idea of the panic that prevailed along sections of the Atlantic coast. You ought to recollect it, some of you, yourselves. I don't know whether you do or not, but the panic that pre-

vailed along sections of the Atlantic coast at the time of the outbreak of the war with Spain was very real. There was immense pressure, for instance, through Congress, through representatives responding to the people behind them, to take the navy and distribute it on the fine strategic plan of anchoring one vessel off each port down the seacoast, so as to insure even the Spanish picking it up in detail.

I don't want to give names, but I had these two or three experiences: Two very prominent members of Congress, one of the two or three leading members of the Lower House and one of the two or three leading members of the Senate, after having sufficiently bedevilled President McKinley, were shunted by him off on me with instructions to gratify them if I possibly could. They demanded a vessel to protect the harbor of the city in which they both lived. They were both very important members of Congress and it was very difficult to do anything without their aid. I was told by the President to try to get them a vessel; their city demanded it. I got them a vessel; it was a Civil War monitor; it was armed with one smoothbore gun about as effective as a culverin; it was manned by twenty-one Naval Militia, and it was towed by a tug. I sent it out there to that port and it completely satisfied them, completely satisfied those two statesmen, and that city. It was quite unfit to deal with any foe of modern times, although it might possibly have dealt with the Spanish Armada, though I am not sure. It was preposterous as an instrument of defense against any modern opponent, but it met the moral needs of the situation.

I had one request to send a monitor down to anchor off Jekyl Island. Now that seems an absurdity, but I was pressed to do it. I had quite an influential lady,

the wife of an influential man, spend about half an hour of my time one day in beseeching me for a war-ship of some kind to be anchored in the neighborhood of the big summer hotel where she and her friends lived.

Now I am giving you actual experiences. You people who live here in Boston will remember that a great many of your business men sent their securities up to the safe-deposits in Worcester, and there was even a proposal not to allow the National Guard of Massachusetts to go outside of Massachusetts, so that it should be ready to protect Massachusetts from the imminent Spanish invasion. All those things happened right before our eyes. New York Harbor was strewn with torpedoes enough to have impeded all traffic—but for the fact that they wouldn't go off—so that we were freed from that danger.

In dealing with the army and the navy at that time I found that the navy had this very great advantage over the army—the higher officers of the navy had been obliged to practise eighty per cent of their profession as it would have been practised in time of war. A battleship going to sea is taken under service conditions necessarily. There wasn't a colonel in our army who had a regiment which he took into the field under service conditions. A squadron of battleships at sea is necessarily manœuvred under service conditions, nearly ninety per cent of service conditions. There wasn't the actual firing at that time that there is now, but almost ninety per cent of service conditions; but there was not a brigade commander, let alone a division commander, in our army who had seen a brigade or taken part in marching a brigade under service conditions since the Civil War. The men who were with our army in Santiago—the generals, the corps commanders, the division

commanders, the brigade commanders—were men who had been gallant second lieutenants thirty-odd years before in the Civil War, while for a few years afterward a certain number of them had had experience in Indian fighting, but who for over a quarter of a century had served in posts where there was one company or half a company and where the all-absorbing military question was the fight between the captain and the quartermaster as to how high to shave a mule's tail.

Now, you gentlemen of the army, from your experience, can corroborate what I am saying. That was the training which the higher officers of the little American army had had.

Of the summer when we ambled down to attack Santiago, do you remember what Mr. Dooley said? Mr. Dooley is a profound philosopher. He said that in the Spanish War we were in a dream but the Spaniards were in a trance. Now we can't always count upon our foes being in a trance.

In getting my regiment equipped I was very, very much helped by Secretary Alger. I shall always remember the way he helped me by cutting the red tape that had to be cut. There were certain bureau officials there also who helped me materially; for instance, Jack Weston; Jack Weston did everything he could to help us. But most of those worthy, high-minded heads of bureaus in the War Department were old gentlemen who were wholly unable to understand what modern warfare conditions meant. For instance, I had to make a fight on this point: I was equipping my regiment, and it was near the time of the July issue of clothing. In July they issued the clothing for the following winter. Well, I had to fight all I knew how, to prevent them issuing the winter clothing for a tropic campaign

in midsummer. Now, you gentlemen of the army know that that is the kind of thing you are up against when you are dealing with the perfectly nice, high-minded bureau man.

I was bound to get brigaded with regulars. We were bound to get the Krag-Jörgensen, smokeless-powder rifles. The head of a department, a fine old boy, did his best to get me to take black powder. He said the other was an experiment and, after all, black powder would hide us from the enemy.

One particular bureau chief I had this experience with: I had made a demand upon him and he pointed out to me the regulations and why I couldn't have, for instance, horses or wagons. They had to advertise thirty days for their horses—in which case we would have gone on foot—and they had to have the wagons built, and that would have taken three to four months, and so forth and so on. In a case like that I would go down and get Alger to override it and come back. Well, for about the fourth time he looked at the requisition I presented and said, "All right, you can have it; you can have it"; and he sank back into a chair and added: "Oh, dear! I had this bureau running in such good shape and along came a war!" He treated the war as an illegitimate interruption to the activities of the War Department. It was most natural that he should have done so, for the only way that a secretary of war for the preceding thirty years could make a reputation was by economies; and the only way he could economize without breeding hostility locally was to economize as regards the efficiency of the army under service conditions in the future, and that was the way he did it.

In consequence, when the army went down to San-

tiago—I am speaking generally—the army itself had excellent material in the ranks, notably among the non-commissioned officers; about fifty per cent were recruits, but the others carried them along; the non-commissioned officers were excellent; the junior officers of the line were excellent. There were exceptions in both cases, of course; but when you got above the rank of captain, even in the line, they were generally markedly inferior in their profession to the corresponding men of the navy, not because they were not the same men, since they were the same men, but because they had been for thirty years deprived of every chance of practising their profession. Thirty years! You take any railroad president of to-day and omit the thirty years just before he became president and leave him only the practical training of the few years before that when he was a one-thousand-six-hundred-dollar clerk at the outside, and how much of a railroad president would he make? He couldn't do anything. That is what happened in our army.

Now I don't suppose that you can get the full and accurate history written of an event so close as the Spanish War. If you tried to do it, I doubt very much if you would produce the right effect, because there would be the able and industrious and persistent effort to misrepresent what was written, and the effect upon the people might be the direct reverse of the effect you want to produce. But we can write about, say, the War of 1812; that is far enough away to permit us to write about it truthfully. You can get a full statement of just what we did in that war. Such a statement ought to show the very extraordinary feats of valor and tactical efficiency of the small units among the regular forces, among the frigates and sloops, and we

have every reason to be very proud of what they did. They did what no navy of any European power in the preceding twenty-five years had been able to do, that is, more than hold their own with the English frigates and sloops. We captured a greater number of ships in single fight from the English than all the nations of Europe combined had captured from them in single fight for the preceding twenty-five years—a fine thing; an excellent thing! On the Niagara frontier, after two years of humiliations, it was utterly preposterous the way we developed the Regular Army, which, under Scott and old Jacob Brown, did what the best troops of France had been unable to do under their best marshals, that is, meet on equal terms the British regulars in the open. At the Battle of the Thames there was one very noteworthy incident—the charge of the mounted riflemen under Johnson, and their use then as dismounted riflemen in a way that was not done in any European war at that time, and which prefigured what was actually done in the Civil War. And it was a very great triumph of Andrew Jackson and his volunteers at New Orleans—a very great triumph.

Now, all of those things should be shown. It should also be shown that we, a nation of some seven million people at that time, proved unable to get into the field an army competent to do any serious offensive work. It should be shown that our failure to get ourselves any kind of an adequate navy resulted in such wide-spread pressure upon our Congress as to produce a strong secession movement in the northeast, pressure that resulted in a very small English force keeping the whole Atlantic seaboard in a condition of panic and landing and destroying the national capitol after the resistance at Bladensburg, which it seems almost incredible to read

of and to think that the men who ran at Bladensburg were the sons of the victors of Yorktown and the fathers of the men who fought at Gettysburg. It seems incredible that we should have failed when Washington was taken. The war had then been going on three years, and yet we hadn't the good sense to develop even a small regular army at that time. Now the lessons to be learned from our failures are clear. The prime lesson to be learned from the War of 1812 is that it is too late to prepare for war when war has begun. The next lesson to be learned—and it is a very, very old lesson—is that all talk of a merely defensive war means simply to invite disaster. There is only one effective defense, and that is the offensive. There is only one way to win a fight, and that is by hitting and not by parrying. We had proceeded for years before 1812 on the theory that, as has been said by one of our Presidents, peace was our passion—and we showed it. It was a passion that wasn't shared by other people, and we paid the penalty for having it our passion when it wasn't shared by other people. There had been a little navy and we laid it up; we didn't have any regular army at all. We started to begin with "The nation in arms"—that was an equivalent expression at the time to "our gallant volunteers." We got four thousand men of my own State at Queenstown at the beginning of the war; there was a force of a thousand mixed troops on the other side, under a very competent general named Brock. Our four thousand militia got together; one thousand were ferried across and were attacked. As soon as the noise of the fight came across the river the remaining three thousand men took refuge in a plea that the Constitution was being violated; they appealed to the Constitution in the true spirit of those

who appeal to it for the purpose of shielding their own inefficiency. They had a mass-meeting on the field and decided that there was no constitutional authority to take them outside of the borders of the United States, and with that belated reverence for the Constitution working in them they declined to go across to the assistance of the thousand men who were on the other side of the Niagara, all of whom were either killed or captured. A similar or rather worse incident occurred —well, not worse, because there is no comparative to a superlative—but as bad an incident occurred in the surrender of Detroit, and the Bladensburg business was not much better.

The little handful of frigates and sloops which had been built some fourteen years before did admirably. If we had had fifteen ships of the line as efficient, not only individually but as a fleet, as the *Constitution* and *Constellation*, as the *Hornet* and the *Wasp*, there would have been no war, and we should have been treated with profound politeness by both England and France. Our people—and I don't think you can blame the people, because you couldn't expect them to realize how things were—but our people believed that instead of battleships, instead of an army, you could rely upon an attachment to peace and such measures as an embargo, a "peaceful war," as it was called; and in consequence we had to pay in life and in treasure immensely during nearly three years of warfare, and we had to come within a measurable distance of a great disaster to the Union, and all because we didn't prepare in advance and because as a nation we believed that our being peaceful in a world that was not peaceful would save us from war instead of provoking war.

Now, gentlemen, I believe most emphatically that we

ought to have a proper history of the United States army, a proper military history of the United States. I believe it must be part of the general history of the United States, so far as that general history is concerned with the attitude of the nation toward things military. I believe it should be written by the general staff, but that it should be written in collaboration with civilians who can write with knowledge and frankness of those matters which it is impossible to expect even a good military man who is a historian to write of with knowledge and frankness. And I believe that it will be worse than useless if it doesn't tell the exact truth, if it doesn't tell our disasters and shortcomings just as well as our triumphs, because we shall have to learn from those disasters just as much as from our triumphs.

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HEROISM AND PREPARATION—THE NAVY'S TWO REQUIREMENTS *

On behalf of the American people I wish to thank our ancient ally, the great French nation, that proud and gallant nation, to whose help we once owed it that John Paul Jones was able to win for the Stars and Stripes the victory that has given him deathless fame, and to whose courtesy we now owe it that the body of the long-dead hero has been sent hither, and that to commemorate the reception of the illustrious dead a squadron of French war-ships has come to our shores.

The annals of the French navy are filled with the names of brave and able seamen, each of whom courted death as a mistress when the honor of his flag was at stake; and among the figures of these brave men there loom the larger shapes of those who, like Tourville, Duquesne, and the Bailli de Suffren, won high renown as fleet admirals, inferior to none of any navy of their day in martial prowess.

In addition to welcoming the diplomatic and official representatives of France here present, let me also express my heartiest acknowledgments to our former ambassador to Paris, General Horace Porter, to whose zealous devotion we particularly owe it that the body of John Paul Jones has been brought to our shores.

When the body was thus brought over, the representatives of many different cities wrote to me, each

* Address on the occasion of the reinterment of the remains of John Paul Jones at Annapolis, Md., April 24, 1906.

asking that it should find its last resting-place in his city. But I feel that the place of all others in which the memory of the dead hero will most surely be a living force is here in Annapolis, where year by year we turn out the midshipmen who are to officer in the future the navy, among whose founders the dead man stands first. Moreover, the future naval officers who live within these walls will find in the career of the man whose life we this day celebrate, not merely a subject for admiration and respect, but an object-lesson to be taken into their innermost hearts. Every officer in our navy should know by heart the deeds of John Paul Jones. Every officer in our navy should feel in each fibre of his being the eager desire to emulate the energy, the professional capacity, the indomitable determination, and dauntless scorn of death which marked John Paul Jones above all his fellows.

The history of our navy, like the history of our nation, only extends over a period of a century and a quarter; yet we already have many memories of pride to thrill us as we read and hear of what has been done by our fighting men of the sea, from Perry and Macdonough to Farragut and Dewey. These memories include brilliant victories, and also, now and then, defeats only less honorable than the victories themselves; but the only defeats to which this praise can be given are those where, against heavy odds, men have stood to the death in hopeless battle. It is well for every American officer to remember that while a surrender may or may not be defensible, the man who refuses to surrender need never make a defense. The one fact must always be explained; the other needs no explanation. Moreover, he who would win glory and honor for the nation and for himself, must not too closely count

the odds; if he does, he will never see such a day as that when Cushing sank the *Albemarle*.

In his fight with the *Serapis*, Jones's ship was so badly mauled that his opponent hailed him, saying, "Has your ship struck?" to which Jones answered: "I have not yet begun to fight." The spirit which inspired that answer upbore the man who gave it and the crew who served under him through the fury of the battle, which finally ended in their triumph. It was the same spirit which marked the commanders of the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*, when they met an equally glorious though less fortunate fate. The *Cumberland* sank, her flag flying, and her guns firing with the decks awash, while, when summoned to surrender, Morris replied, "Never! I'll sink alongside!" and made his words good. Immediately after the *Cumberland* was sunk the *Congress* was attacked, and her commander, Lieutenant Joe Smith, was killed. After fighting until she was helpless, and being unable to bring her guns to bear, the ship was surrendered; but when Smith's father, old Commodore Joe Smith, who was on duty at Washington, saw by the despatches from Fort Monroe that the *Congress* had hoisted the white flag, he said quietly: "Then Joe's dead!" Surely no father could wish to feel a prouder certainty of his boy's behavior than the old commodore showed he possessed when he thus spoke; and no naval officer could hope to win a finer epitaph.

We have met to-day to do honor to the mighty dead. Remember that our words of admiration are but as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals if we do not by steady preparation and by the cultivation of soul and mind and body fit ourselves so that in time of need we shall be prepared to emulate their deeds. Let every midshipman who passes through this institution re-

member, as he looks upon the tomb of John Paul Jones, that while no courage can atone for the lack of that efficiency which comes only through careful preparation in advance, through careful training of the men, and careful fitting out of the engines of war, yet that none of these things can avail unless in the moment of crisis the heart rises level with the crisis. The navy whose captains will not surrender is sure in the long run to whip the navy whose captains will surrender, unless the inequality of skill or force is prodigious. The courage which never yields cannot take the place of the possession of good ships and good weapons and the ability skilfully to use these ships and these weapons.

I wish that our people as a whole, and especially those among us who occupy high legislative or administrative positions, would study the history of our nation, not merely for the purpose of national self-gratification, but with the desire to learn the lessons that history teaches. Let the men who talk lightly about its being unnecessary for us now to have an army and navy adequate for the work of this nation in the world remember that such utterances are not merely foolish, for in their effects they may at any time be fraught with disaster and disgrace to the nation's honor as well as disadvantage to its interest. Let them take to heart some of the lessons which should be learned by the study of the War of 1812.

As a people we are too apt to remember only that some of our ships did well in that war. We had a few ships—a very few ships—and they did so well as to show the utter folly of not having enough of them. Thanks to our folly as a nation, thanks to the folly that found expression in the views of those at the seat of government, not a ship of any importance had been

built within a dozen years before the war began, and the navy was so small that, when once the war was on, our opponents were able to establish a close blockade throughout the length of our coast, so that not a ship could go from one port to another, and all traffic had to go by land. Our parsimony in not preparing an adequate navy (which would have prevented the war) cost in the end literally thousands of dollars for every one dollar we thus foolishly saved. After two years of that war, an utterly inconsiderable British force of about four thousand men were landed here in the bay, defeated with ease a larger body of raw troops put against it, and took Washington.

I am sorry to say that those of our countrymen who now speak of the deed usually confine themselves to denouncing the British for having burned certain buildings in Washington. They had better spare their breath. The sin of the invaders in burning the buildings is trivial compared with the sin of our own people in failing to make ready an adequate force to defeat the attempt. This nation was guilty of such shortsightedness, of such folly, of such lack of preparation that it was forced supinely to submit to the insult and was impotent to avenge it; and it was only the good fortune of having in Andrew Jackson a great natural soldier that prevented a repetition of the disaster at New Orleans. Let us remember our own shortcomings, and see to it that the men in public life to-day are not permitted to bring about a state of things by which we should in effect invite a repetition of such a humiliation.

We can afford as a people to differ on the ordinary party questions; but if we are both far-sighted and patriotic we cannot afford to differ on the all-important question of keeping the national defenses as they

should be kept; of not alone keeping up, but of going on with building up of, the United States navy, and of keeping our small army at least at its present size and making it the most efficient for its size that there is on the globe. Remember, you here who are listening to me, that to applaud patriotic sentiments and to turn out to do honor to the dead heroes who by land or by sea won honor for our flag is only worth while if we are prepared to show that our energies do not exhaust themselves in words; if we are prepared to show that we intend to take to heart the lessons of the past and make things ready so that if ever, which Heaven forbid, the need should arise, our fighting men on sea and ashore shall be able to rise to the standard established by their predecessors in our services of the past.

Those of you who are in public life have a moral right to be here at this celebration to-day only if you are prepared to do your part in building up the navy of the present; for otherwise you have no right to claim lot or part in the glory and honor and renown of the navy's past.

So much for what we in civil life outside of public office and within it are to do for you, and must do for you, in the navy. Let you in the navy remember that you must do your part. You will be worthless in war if you have not prepared yourselves for it in peace. You will be utterly unable to rise to the needs of the crisis if you have not by long years of steady and patient work fitted yourselves to get the last ounce of work out of every man, every gun, and every ship in the fleet; if you have not practised steadily on the high seas until each ship can do its best, can show at its best, alone or in conjunction with others in fleet formation. Remember that no courage can ever atone for lack of

that preparedness which makes the courage valuable; and yet if the courage is there, if the dauntless heart is there, its presence will sometimes make up for other shortcomings; while if with it are combined the other military qualities the fortunate owner becomes literally invincible.

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WHY THE NATION NEEDS AN EFFECTIVE NAVY *

THERE are only a few things that I desire to say to-day to the conference, and what I have to say really is said less to the officers present than to the great bulk of my fellow countrymen outside. I could not speak to you technically. I can speak to my fellow countrymen who are deeply interested in the American navy, but who sometimes tend to be misled as to the kind of navy we should have and as to what the navy can and ought to do.

For instance, there are always a certain number of well-meaning, amiable individuals—coupled with others not quite so well-meaning—who like to talk of having a navy merely for defense, who advocate a coast-defense navy. Such advocacy illustrates a habit of mind as old as human nature itself—the desire at the same time to do something, and not to do it, than which there is no surer way of combining the disadvantages of leaving it undone and of trying to do it. A purely defensive navy, a mere coast-defense navy, would be almost worthless. To advocate a navy merely for coast defense stands in point of rational intelligence about on a par with advocating the creation of a school of prize-fighters in which nobody should do anything but parry. No fight was ever won yet except by hitting; and the one unforgivable offense in any man is to hit soft. Don't hit

* Address to the conference of officers at the Naval War College, Newport, R. I., July 22, 1908.

at all if it can possibly be avoided; but if you do hit, hit as hard as you know how. That applies to the individual and it applies to the nation; and those who advocate a merely defensive navy, a mere coast-defense navy, are advocating that we shall adopt as a national principle the principle of hitting soft. I hope with all my heart that never will this nation of ours hit unless it cannot possibly be helped. I believe that the nation should do everything honorable at all times to avoid any trouble; that it should scrupulously refrain from wronging or insulting any other nation; that it should put up with a good deal in the way of misconduct on the part of others before going to war. But when this nation does have to go to war, such war will only be excusable if the nation intends to hammer its opponent until that opponent quits fighting. You don't hammer an opponent if you keep your fleet along the coast waiting until the opponent takes the initiative and hammers you.

For the protection of our coasts we need fortifications; we need to have these fortifications not merely to protect the salient points of our possessions, but we need them so that the navy can be foot-loose. A year ago at the time that it was announced that the fleet was to go around the world there were a certain number of newspapers, especially in my own city of New York, that raised a clamorous protest against it. Exactly how close the connection was between this protest against the fleet going around the world and dissatisfaction with the economic policies of the Administration, it is not necessary at this moment to discuss; but the protest was made. It took at one time the form of a mistaken prophecy to the effect that the fleet would not be allowed to go around the world, and one of the reasons

alleged was that to let it go around the world would leave New York defenseless in the event of war; the theory evidently being that the fleet, or a portion of it, would be used especially to protect New York and other cities in the event of war. If war comes at any time in the future, that Administration under which it comes will indeed be guilty of folly if they use the fleet to protect any port. Let the port be protected by the fortifications; the fleet must be foot-loose to search out and destroy the enemy's fleet. That is the function of the fleet; that is the only function that can justify the fleet's existence; and that function cannot exist in the case of such a ridiculous fleet as the fleet would be if it were only possible to use it for coast-defense purposes.

Again, as a question of national policy. When statesmen, when the people behind political leaders, embark on any given policy, they build up for themselves a time of humiliation and disaster in the future if they do not prepare to make that policy effective. There is something to be said (from my standpoint, gentlemen, not much, but still something) for the theory that this nation shall never have any interests outside its own borders and shall assume toward other nations an attitude of such meekness that no trouble can ever possibly come. As I say, something can be said for that policy. It would not appeal to me; but still it is a defensible policy. But a wholly indefensible policy would be consistently to work for the assumption of responsibilities without making any provision for meeting the demands necessarily entailed by those responsibilities. To be rich, aggressive, and unarmed, is to invite certain disaster and annihilation.

We have taken the Philippines; but if we had not

taken them not a particle of difference would be made as regards the needs of our naval policies. There has been a division among this people as to the taking the Philippines. There has been no division on the Monroe Doctrine; no division on building, maintaining, policing, and defending the Panama Canal; no division about Hawaii and Porto Rico; no division about keeping Alaska, which, though on the continent, is just as much separated as if it were an island; no division about asserting our superior right to defend and protect Cuba. Not one of the courses of action thus outlined can be followed out excepting with a first-class navy. The Monroe Doctrine was in danger of falling not merely into disuse, but into contempt, until we began to build up our navy. The Monroe Doctrine won't be observed by foreign nations with sufficient strength to disregard it when once it becomes their interest to disregard it, unless we have a navy sufficient to make our assertion of the doctrine good. The Monroe Doctrine, unbacked by a navy, is an empty boast; and there exist but few more contemptible characters, individual or national, than the man or the nation who boasts, and when the boast is challenged, fails to make good. If we have a coast-defense navy only we had better at once turn over the Panama Canal to some stronger and braver nation which would not limit itself merely to a coast-defense navy, and could protect and police it. If we should limit ourselves merely to a navy that would confine us to defensive war—war certain in the end to be unsuccessful—it would be well at once to give up Hawaii, to give up Porto Rico, to give up Alaska, and to say that we had no more interest in Cuba than the smallest outside power. If we intend to claim to be a great nation then we must fit ourselves so that we may

be ready at need to make good that claim. That can only be done by building up and maintaining at the highest point of efficiency the United States navy.

There is a curious corollary to what I am just saying. If we are ready to make good the claims, the chances are infinitesimal that it will ever be necessary to do so. The real chance of war for this nation comes only if we combine a policy which disregards the interests or feelings of others, with a policy of helplessness to hold our own if our right to do as we wish is challenged. If, on the other hand, we are ready in very fact to hold our own, the chance becomes infinitesimal that we will be called upon to do so.

I have spoken of our needing an efficient navy because of our possessions that are separated from us by water; because of our advocacy of the Monroe Doctrine; because of our being engaged in building the Isthmian Canal. But constituted as this people is, if we did not have a foreign possession; if we abandoned the Monroe Doctrine; if we handed over to some other power the Panama Canal, it would still be necessary for us to have a navy, and a strong, fighting navy. We do not want any navy at all if it is not a first-class one; and such a navy will be necessary for us just so long as we demand the right to administer our internal affairs as we think best.

This country is yet in its youth. In the process of building up, many hundreds of thousands of immigrants are coming here from all parts of the world, representing many different nationalities, many different strata of cultivation, of civilization. In consequence there are points of friction between this country and other countries such as exist in no other nation than ours. It is a curious fact, and a lesson as to the folly of a portion

of mankind, that many of the very people who advocate our following some given course of policy that will be most apt to bring us into trouble with other nations, stoutly protest against our also following the only policy that would make such a course of conduct as that they advocate anything but contemptible in the eyes of the world and disastrous to ourselves.

Ultimately, and I think at not a very distant period, as this country fills up, and as it becomes more and more important that we should keep on the highest possible level the plane of living of our working men—for the chief end of a national policy in this country should be to keep on the highest level the prosperity of the tiller of the soil and the wage-worker, for the prosperity of all other classes will follow their prosperity—therefore, gentlemen, as it becomes more and more important to keep that prosperity at a high level, it is very possible that we shall have to exercise a continually greater supervision, a continually greater exercise of the right of rejection among immigrants that come hither, and shall, as regards it may be many different peoples, take an attitude that will tend at first to provoke friction with them. Now it is our undoubted right to say what people, what persons, shall come to this country to live, to work, to become citizens. It is equally undoubtedly our duty that that right shall be exercised in a way that will be provocative of the least, and not of the most, friction with outsiders. The theory of certain of our fellow citizens that we can permanently follow a policy of peace with insult is erroneous. We must stand up for our rights firmly but temperately and courteously and with all possible respect, not merely for the rights but for the feelings of others; and finally, gentlemen, we must remember that we cannot permanently

be certain that we will keep our rights as the world now is unless we have potential force back of them.

We have the right to choose who shall come here from abroad. It is our duty to exercise that right so that it will cause the minimum of offense to any other friendly power, so that it will cause the minimum of friction and will be accompanied with the greatest good-will and friendship and evidences of good-will and friendship on our part toward other powers. But it is absolutely necessary that if we claim for ourselves the right to choose who shall come here, we shall be in trim to uphold that right if any power challenges it; and it cannot be upheld by words, it cannot be upheld by a coast-defense navy, by a navy that will parry but that won't hit.

It can be upheld only by the possession of an efficient fighting navy, a navy able to preserve the honor and the interest of the United States, not by inviting attack on our shores and then seeing if we cannot repel it, but by taking such action as shall guarantee us against our shores being attacked.

Now, what I have said naturally has no special interest for you. I am a layman. Speaking to professional men, I could not tell them anything about their profession. But I can say to my fellow laymen and to all my countrymen, civilians, sailors, or soldiers, what are certain great lines of policy which we should follow. At the present day the Monroe Doctrine is unchallenged, and the people abroad who used to sneer at it now say it is a pretty good doctrine after all, a useful doctrine on the whole for the peace of the world. What has produced that change? Words? Not a bit of it. Diplomacy? Only in so far as diplomacy rested on the substantial basis of potential force. The voyage of the

sixteen battleships around South America, through the Straits of Magellan, from Hampton Roads to Puget Sound—that was the most instructive object-lesson that had ever been afforded as to the reality of the Monroe Doctrine.

Now, gentlemen, the possibilities of misapprehension, of misconstruction, of what one says are infinite, especially when they are accompanied with something of design. I wish to reiterate, and to say with just as much earnestness as I have spoken to-day on other subjects, that I want a first-class fighting navy because it is the most effective guaranty of peace that this country can have. Uncle Sam can well afford to pay for his peace and safety so cheap an insurance policy as is implied in the maintenance of the United States navy. There is not a more paying investment that he makes. All of the leaders of our people are fond of assuring this people that it is a great people; they are fond of assuring it of that fact even when they are advocating policies that if carried out would assuredly make the fact merely a memory. We are a great people. That ought not to be a subject for boastfulness; it ought to be a subject for serious consideration because of the heavy responsibilities that go with it. We cannot help playing a great part in the world, but we can very easily help playing that part well; and to be a great people and make a great failure is as unattractive a spectacle as history affords. We are one of the great world-powers —in situation, in population, in wealth. We are such a power because of the spirit and purpose of our people. It is not open to us to decide whether or not the career that we lead shall be important; it has got to be important. All we can decide is as to whether our success shall be great or our failure great; we are sure to make

either a great failure or a great success. I would not pretend for a moment, gentlemen, to you or to any one else that merely military proficiency on land or sea would by itself make this or any other nation great. First and foremost come the duties within the gates of our own household; first and foremost our duty is to strive to bring about a better administration of justice, cleaner, juster, more equitable methods in our political, business, and social life, the reign of law, the reign of that orderly liberty which was the first consideration in the minds of the founders of this Republic. Our duties at home are of the first importance. But our duties abroad are of vital consequence also. This nation may fail, no matter how well it keeps itself prepared against the possibility of disaster from abroad; but it will certainly fail if we do not thus keep ourselves prepared. And I ask our people to take the keenest and most intelligent interest in the affairs of the navy and to watch closely those at Washington, in the Executive Department and in the Legislative Department as well, who are concerned with the affairs of the navy, because as a nation we need greatly in the interest of peace, in the interest of true national greatness, that the United States navy, with its ships, its officers, its enlisted men, shall at every point be kept in the highest possible condition of efficiency and well-being.

IX

EXPANSION AND THE OUTLYING POSSESSIONS

36

THE EXPANSION OF THE WHITE RACES *

THERE is one feature in the expansion of the peoples of white, or European, blood during the past four centuries which should never be lost sight of, especially by those who denounce such expansion on moral grounds. On the whole, the movement has been fraught with lasting benefit to most of the peoples already dwelling in the lands over which the expansion took place. Of course any such general statement as this must be understood with the necessary reservations. Human nature being what it is, no movement lasting for four centuries and extending in one shape or another over the major part of the world could go on without cruel injustices being done at certain places and in certain times. Occasionally, although not very frequently, a mild and kindly race has been treated with wanton, brutal, and ruthless inhumanity by the white intruders. Moreover, mere savages, whose type of life was so primitive as to be absolutely incompatible with the existence of civilization, inevitably died out from the regions across which their sparse bands occasionally flitted, when these regions became filled with a dense population; they died out when they were kindly treated as quickly as when they were badly treated, for the simple reason that they were so little advanced that the conditions of life necessary to their existence were incompatible with any form of higher and better existence. It is also true that, even where great good has been done to the already existing

* Address at the celebration of the African Diamond Jubilee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, D. C., January 18, 1909.

inhabitants, where they have thriven under the new rule, it has sometimes brought with it discontent from the very fact that it has brought with it a certain amount of well-being and a certain amount of knowledge, so that people have learned enough to feel discontented and have prospered enough to be able to show their discontent. Such ingratitude is natural, and must be reckoned with as such; but it is also both unwarranted and foolish, and the fact of its existence in any given case does not justify any change of attitude on our part.

On the whole, and speaking generally, one extraordinary fact of this expansion of the European races is that with it has gone an increase in population and well-being among the natives of the countries where the expansion has taken place. As a result of this expansion there now live outside of Europe over a hundred million of people wholly of European blood and many millions more partly of European blood; and as another result there are now on the whole more people of native blood in the regions where these hundred million intruders dwell than there were when the intruders went thither. In America the Indians of the West Indies were well-nigh exterminated, wantonly and cruelly. The merely savage tribes, both in North and South America, who were very few in number, have much decreased or have vanished, and grave wrongs have often been committed against them as well as by them. But all of the Indians who had attained to an even low grade of industrial and social efficiency have remained in the land, and have for the most part simply been assimilated with the intruders, the assimilation marking on the whole a very considerable rise in their conditions. Taking into account the Indians of pure blood, and the mixed bloods

in which the Indian element is large, it is undoubtedly true that the Indian population of America is larger today than it was when Columbus discovered the continent, and stands on a far higher plane of happiness and efficiency. In Australia the few savages tend to die out simply because their grade of culture is so low that nothing can be done with them; doubtless occasional brutalities have been committed by white settlers but these brutalities were not an appreciable factor in the dying out of the natives. In India and Java there has been a great increase in well-being and population under the English and the Dutch, and the advance made has been in striking contrast to what has occurred during the same period in the near-by lands which have remained under native rule. In Egypt, in the Philippines, in Algiers, the native people have thriven under the rule of the foreigner, advancing as under no circumstances could they possibly have advanced if left to themselves, the increase in population going hand in hand with the increase in general well-being. In the Soudan, Mahdism during the ten years of its unchecked control was responsible for the death of over half the population and meant physical and moral ruin, a fact which should be taken into account by the perverted pseudophilanthropy which fails to recognize the enormous advantages conferred by the English occupation of the Soudan, if not on the English themselves, certainly on the natives and on humanity at large. In the same way the Russian advance into Turkestan has meant the real advance in the well-being of the people, as well as the spread of civilization. In Natal the English found an empty desert; because of the peace they established it has filled up so densely with natives as to create very serious and totally new problems. There

have been very dark spots in the European conquest and control of Africa; but on the whole the African regions which during the past century have seen the greatest cruelty, degradation, and suffering, the greatest diminution of population, are those where native control has been unchecked. The advance has been made in the regions that have been under European control or influence; that have been profoundly influenced by European administrators, and by European and American missionaries. Of course the best that can happen to any people that has not already a high civilization of its own is to assimilate and profit by American or European ideas, the ideas of civilization and Christianity, without submitting to alien control; but such control, in spite of all its defects, is in a very large number of cases the prerequisite condition to the moral and material advance of the peoples who dwell in the darker corners of the earth. Where the control is exercised brutally; where it is made use of merely to exploit the natives, without regard to their physical or moral well-being; it should be unsparingly criticised, and there should be resolute insistence on amendment and reform. But we must not, because of occasional wrong-doing, blind ourselves to the fact that on the whole the white administrator and the Christian missionary have exercised a profound and wholesome influence for good in savage regions.

Let me illustrate what I mean by particularly alluding to three cases—Algiers, India, and the Philippines. The North African coast was a mere nest of pirates during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Punitive expeditions were sent against these pirates again and again, but they could not be permanently suppressed by such expeditions, and all the great commer-

cial nations were forced to pay them a more or less thinly disguised tribute or blackmail. The United States was among the number. It was the French conquest of Algiers which put a final stop to this blackmail; and it also put a stop to the unspeakable barbarism and cruelty inevitably attendant upon the slave-hunting piracy of the dwellers in the independent North African states. In other words, the independence of these states was a menace to every peaceful people, and incidentally it meant dreadful wrong and injustice within the states themselves. Algiers is far better off in every way under French rule than it was eighty years ago, before the French came into the land, and it is far better off in every way than is the neighboring state of Morocco at the present time; and this simply and solely because the neighboring state of Morocco continues to enjoy much the same kind of independent self-government that Algiers enjoyed until the French went there.

In India we encounter the most colossal example history affords of the successful administration by men of European blood of a thickly populated region in another continent. It is the greatest feat of the kind that has been performed since the break-up of the Roman Empire. Indeed, it is a greater feat than was performed under the Roman Empire. Unquestionably mistakes have been made; it would indicate qualities literally superhuman if so gigantic a task had been accomplished without mistakes. It is easy enough to point out shortcomings; but the fact remains that the successful administration of the Indian Empire by the English has been one of the most notable and most admirable achievements of the white race during the past two centuries. On the whole it has been for the immeasurable benefit of the natives of India themselves. Suffer-

ing has been caused in particular cases and at particular times to these natives; much more often, I believe, by well-intentioned ignorance or bad judgment than by any moral obliquity. But on the whole there has been a far more resolute effort to do justice, a far more resolute effort to secure fair treatment for the humble and the oppressed during the days of English rule in India than during any other period of recorded Indian history. England does not draw a penny from India for English purposes; she spends for India the revenues raised in India; and they are spent for the benefit of the Indians themselves. Undoubtedly India is a less pleasant place than formerly for the heads of tyrannical states. There is now little or no room in it for successful freebooter chieftains, for the despots who lived in gorgeous splendor while under their cruel rule the immense mass of their countrymen festered in sodden misery. But the mass of the people have been and are far better off than ever before, and far better off than they would now be if English control were overthrown or withdrawn. Indeed, if English control were now withdrawn from India, the whole peninsula would become a chaos of bloodshed and violence; all the weaker peoples, and the most industrious and law-abiding, would be plundered and forced to submit to indescribable wrong and oppression; and the only beneficiaries among the natives would be the lawless, violent, and bloodthirsty. I have no question that there are reforms to be advanced—this is merely another way of saying that the government has been human; I have also no question that there is being made and will be made a successful effort to accomplish these reforms. But the great salient fact is that the presence of the English in India, like the presence of the English in Egypt and the

Soudan, of the French in Algiers, of the Russians in Turkestan, of the Germans in Southwest Africa and East Africa (and of all these peoples, and of other white peoples, in many other places), has been for the advantage of mankind. Every well-wisher of mankind, every true friend of humanity, should realize that the part England has played in India has been to the immeasurable advantage of India, and for the honor and profit of civilization, and should feel profound satisfaction in the stability and permanence of English rule. I have seen many American missionaries who have come from India, and I cannot overstate the terms of admiration in which they speak of the English rule in India, and of the incalculable benefits it has conferred and is conferring upon the natives.

Finally, take our own experience in the Philippines. Spain finally lost power to be of benefit to the islands; but do not forget that Spain accomplished very, very much for them during more than two centuries; and that the islands owe their present possibilities to the fact that the Spaniards took possession of them. Then we came in. I am sure that when international history is written, from the standpoint of acclaiming international justice, one chapter will tell with heartiest praise what our people have done in the Philippines. Exactly as in the Caribbean Sea we have endeavored to give genuine and disinterested help to the independent peoples of Cuba and San Domingo, so, in the same spirit—though the task is of quite different character—we are endeavoring to educate and train the native races under our sovereignty in the Philippines. In our treatment of the Filipinos we have acted up to the highest standard that has yet been set as marking the proper way in which a powerful and advanced nation

should treat a weaker people. Cuba we are at this moment leaving for the second time, to work out a destiny which we now hope and believe will be one of stable and orderly independence and prosperity. In the Philippines we are constantly giving an increasing measure of self-government. Of course, in one sense of the word self-government can never be bestowed by outsiders upon any people. It must be achieved by themselves. It means in this sense primarily self-control, self-restraint, and if those qualities do not exist—that is, if the people are unable to govern themselves—then, as there must be government somewhere, it has to come from outside. But we are constantly giving to the people of the Philippines an increasing share in, an increasing opportunity to learn by practice, the difficult art of self-government. If we had abandoned them at the outset to their own devices, if we had shirked our duty and sailed out of the islands, leaving them in a bloody welter of confusion, the chief sufferers would have been the Philippine people themselves. We are leading them forward steadily in the right direction, and we are doing it because our people at home desire that they shall be treated right, and because our people in the islands, in the civil government, in the army, and among the missionary representatives of the various creeds work primarily for the advancement of the people among whom they dwell. I believe that I am speaking with historic accuracy and impartiality when I say that the American treatment of and attitude toward the Filipino people, in its combination of disinterested ethical purpose and sound common sense, marks a new and long stride forward, in advance of all steps that have hitherto been taken, along the path of wise and proper treatment of weaker by stronger races.

Now, in speaking to-night I wish to lay stress upon the missionary side of the general work in the foreign lands. America has for over a century done its share of missionary work. We who stay at home should as a matter of duty give cordial support to those who in a spirit of devotion to all that is highest in human nature, spend the best part of their lives in trying to carry civilization and Christianity into lands which have hitherto known little or nothing of either. The work is vast, and it is done under many and widely varied conditions. Personally I have always been particularly interested, for instance, in the extraordinary work done by the American schools and colleges in the Turkish Empire, both Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia; a work which has borne such wonderful fruit among the Bulgarians, among Syrian and Armenian Christians, and also among the Mohammedans; and this although among the Mohammedans there has been no effort to convert them, simply an effort to make them good citizens, to make them vie with their fellow citizens who are Christians in showing those qualities which it should be the pride of every creed to develop; and the present movement to introduce far-reaching and genuine reforms, political and social, in Turkey, an effort with which we all keenly sympathize, is one in which these young Moslems, educated at the American schools and colleges, are especially fitted to take part.

Bishop Hartzell's work has been done in Africa, the continent in which of all others there has been the most need for Christian work, and in which that work shows signs of reaching its widest development. It has been indeed a Dark Continent, and some of the white men who have gone thither have by their acts deepened the gloom. Let us as a race be thankful that so many other

men have gone thither to strive for the uplift of the people, to strive for the betterment of conditions. Our own country has in the past committed grave wrong against Africa for which it should amply atone, and no better atonement can be made than that which is being made by the American missionaries of every creed and church, who are now doing so much in almost every corner of Africa for the physical, the intellectual, and the moral betterment of the people. I hope there will be the most hearty support of these men, who in far-off regions are fighting for progress in things of the spirit no less than in things of the body. Let us help them to make the missions centres of industrial no less than of ethical teaching; for unless we raise the savage in industrial efficiency we cannot permanently keep him on a high plane of moral efficiency, nor yet can we render him able to hold his own in the world.

Bishop Hartzell, I greet you; and I extend my heartiest good wishes to the great Methodist body on this golden jubilee of its far-reaching work in Africa. No denomination has done more zealous and effective missionary work than the Methodists. They were in many large regions west of the Alleghanies the pioneers of missionary work in our own land; and their missionaries are now to be found in every continent and under every clime.

In Africa, on the west coast, the foreign missionary work of the Methodist Episcopal Church was begun seventy-five years ago.

From that beginning a world-wide missionary movement has developed which now involves the annual expenditure of three million dollars from America, besides large amounts raised on the various foreign fields. This great work includes the establishment and maintenance,

in several foreign countries, of churches and hospitals, schools of various grades and kinds, and far-reaching evangelistic effort. In recent years, with the opening of that continent to civilization, the work in Africa has grown to large proportions, and the church is face to face with unparalleled opportunities and responsibilities in the strengthening of the centres it now occupies and in answering the calls for enlargement.

The missionary authorities of the church, with the cordial approval of the board of bishops, have designated the year 1909 as Africa Diamond Jubilee year. The nearly twenty thousand pastors of the church will present to their people the claims of Africa as a mission field and ask for jubilee offerings. The amount asked for from America is three hundred thousand dollars. Suitable literature is being published for wide distribution. In addition to the contributions in money, it is fully expected that a large number of well-prepared young men and women will consecrate their lives to service in different parts of the Dark Continent.

The twentieth century will see and is now seeing the transformation of Africa into a new world. Within a few years its vast domain has been partitioned among various European nations. These nations are expending enormous sums of money and utilizing their best statesmanship and colonizing abilities in the development of colonial empires of wide extent and extraordinary material possibilities. Steamship-lines encircle the continent. A continental system of railways and of lake and river steamboats will soon extend northward from Cape Town six thousand miles to Cairo, while branch lines will unite the east and west coasts at several points. The latest results of science are being utilized in mining and agriculture, while scholarly ex-

perts in different centres of Europe are studying the questions of native languages and religions, as well as the best methods of advancing civilization among the many millions of native peoples. The wealth of the commerce which will be developed cannot be estimated. The white man rules; but there is only one white man on the continent to one hundred others, who are either barbaric black heathen or fanatical Mohammedans.

Self-interest and competition will, I believe, unite in making the governments fair to the people, and the indomitable energy of the adventurous settlers and the wealth of the nations behind them will result in exploiting the vast commercial resources of the continents. But there is a question that is larger than either government or trade, and that is the moral well-being of these vast millions who have come under the protection of modern governments. The representative of the Christian religion must have his place side by side with the man of government and trade, and for generations that representative must be supplied in the person of the foreign missionary from America and Europe. Civilization can only be permanent and continue a blessing to any people if, in addition to promoting their material well-being, it also stands for an orderly individual liberty, for the growth of intelligence, and for equal justice in the administration of law. Christianity alone meets these fundamental requirements.

The change of sentiment in favor of the foreign missionary in a single generation has been remarkable. The whole world, which is rapidly coming into neighborhood relations, is recognizing as never before the real needs of mankind, and is ready to approve and strengthen all the moral forces which stand for the uplift of humanity. There must be government for the

orderly and permanent development of society. There must be intercourse among peoples in the interests of commerce and growth. But, above all, there must be moral power, established and maintained under the leadership of good men and women. The upright and far-seeing statesman, the honest and capable trader, and the devoted Christian missionary represent the combined forces which are to change the Africa of to-day into the greater and better Africa of the future.

The responsibility of America for the moral well-being of the people of Africa is manifest. Our wealth and power have given us a place of influence among the nations of the world. But world-wide influence and power mean more than dollars or social, intellectual, or industrial supremacy. They involve a responsibility for the moral welfare of others which cannot be evaded.

The United States has no territorial interests in Africa, and may never have. The republic of Liberia was the outgrowth of immigration movements from our colored populations. But beyond a paternal interest, the United States has no organic relation with or responsibility to that government. We are friendly to all governments on the continent, and stand with them, to the extent of our influence, for righteous rule, especially as applied to the vast native populations. Our commercial relations, already large, will grow to vast proportions in coming years. But beyond questions of rule or traffic are the responsibilities of America as to the moral uplift of the people of Africa. This responsibility is to be met in co-operation with the Christian forces of other nations. So vast is this problem of redeeming a continent, which has lain for thousands of years in darkness, that all sections of the Christian church must have a hand in this great work. The few score of missionaries who are now on the field from

America should be multiplied in the near future, and the money contributed to Africa should be doubled over and over again year after year. It is a joy to learn that among the missionary forces in Africa, from different lands and representing different branches of the church, there are fraternal and mutually helpful relations.

The responsibility of America toward Africa is emphasized because of our past history, and because of the number of our citizens who are of African descent. As a result of the African slave-trade, that crime of the ages, and of two and a half centuries of slavery in America, the United States has nearly ten millions of colored people as a part of its citizenship. No other country outside of Africa has so large a negro population; and, what is more, there are no other ten millions of negroes in the world who own as much property and have as large a per cent who are intelligent, moral, and thrifty. The education and uplift of the American negro now going forward should be accompanied by the increase of the missionary and Christian forces on the continent from which his ancestors came. The number of those who go as missionaries to Africa will increase; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that a large share of the leadership for the evangelization of the continent will be furnished from among our own colored leaders in America.

In the redemption of Africa all sections of the Christian church must be united, but Methodism, because of the vast numbers it represents and the spirit and methods of its movements, should have a share of especial note. The spirit of Methodism is the spirit of expansion and of world-wide conquests in the kingdom of righteousness. John Wesley's motto was: "The world is my parish." I hope the Methodists of to-day will make this statement good.

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ISLAND POSSESSIONS *

I WANT to speak to you to-night, not on our internal problems as a nation, but on some of the external problems which we have had to face during the last four years. The internal problems are the most important. Keeping our own household straight is our first duty; but we have other duties. Just exactly as each man who is worth his salt must first of all be a good husband, a good father, a good bread-winner, a good man of business, and yet must in addition to that be a good citizen for the State at large—so a nation must first take care to do well its duties within its own borders, but must not make of that fact an excuse for failing to do those of its duties the performance of which lies without its own borders.

The events of the last few years have forced the American Republic to take a larger position in the world than ever before, and therefore more than ever to concern itself with questions of policy coming without its own borders. As a people we have new duties and new opportunities both in the tropical seas and islands south of us and in the farthest Orient. Much depends upon the way in which we meet those duties, the way in which we take advantage of those opportunities. And remember this, you never can meet any duty, and after you have met it say that your action

* Address at the Coliseum, Hartford, Conn., August 22, 1902.

only affected that duty. If you meet it well you face the next duty a stronger man, and if you meet it ill you face your next duty a weaker man.

From the days of Monroe, Clay, and the younger Adams, we as a people have always looked with peculiar interest upon the West Indies and the Isthmus connecting North and South America, feeling that whatever happened there was of particular moment to this nation; and there is better reason for that feeling now than ever before. The outcome of the Spanish War put us in possession of Porto Rico, and brought us into peculiarly close touch with Cuba; while the successful negotiation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, and the legislation following it, at last cleared the way for the construction of the Isthmian Canal. Porto Rico, it is a pleasure to say, may now serve as an example of the best methods of administering our insular possessions. Sometimes we have to learn by experience what to avoid. It is much pleasanter when one can turn to an experience for the purpose of learning what to follow; and the last is true of our experience in Porto Rico. So excellent has been the administration of the island, so excellent the effect of the legislation concerning it, that their very excellence has caused most of us to forget all about it. There is no opportunity for head-lines about Porto Rico. You don't need to use large letters in order to say that Porto Rico continues quiet and prosperous. There is hardly a ripple of failure upon the stream of our success there; and as we don't have to think of remedies, we follow our usual custom in these matters, and don't think of it at all.

How have we brought that about? First and foremost, in Porto Rico we have consistently striven to get the very best men to administer the affairs of the island.

It is desirable throughout our public service to secure a high standard of efficiency and integrity. But after all, here at home we ourselves always have in our own hands the remedy whereby to supply any deficiency in integrity or capacity among those that govern us. That is a fact that seems to have been forgotten, but it is a fact. In a far-off island things are different. There wrong-doing is more easy and those that suffer from it are more helpless; while there is less efficient check in the way of that public opinion to which public men are sensitive. In consequence, the administration of those islands is beyond all other kinds of administration under our government the one in which the highest standard must be demanded. In making appointments to the insular service, the appointing power must feel all the time that he is acting for the country as a whole, in the interest of the good name of our people as a whole, and any question of mere party expediency must be wholly swept aside, and the matter looked at solely from the standpoint of the honor of our own nation and the welfare of the islands. We have gotten along so well in Porto Rico because we have acted up to that theory in choosing our men down there—governor, treasurer, attorney-general, judges, superintendent of education—every one. You will find among those men all the shades of different political opinion that we have here at home; but you will find them knit together by the purpose of administering the affairs of that island on the highest plane of decency and efficiency.

Besides acting in good faith, we have acted with good sense, and that is also important. We have not been frightened or misled into giving to the people of the island a form of government unsuitable to them. While providing that the people should govern themselves as

far as possible, we have not hesitated in their own interests to keep the power of shaping their destiny.

In Cuba the problem was larger, more complicated, more difficult. Here again we kept our promise absolutely. After having delivered the island from its oppressors, we refused to turn it loose offhand, with the certainty that it would sink back into chaos and savagery. For over three years we administered it on a plane higher than it had ever reached before during the four hundred years that had elapsed since the Spaniards first landed upon its shores. We brought moral and physical cleanliness into the government. We cleaned the cities for the first time in their existence. We stamped out yellow fever—an inestimable boon not merely to Cuba, but to the people of the Southern States as well. We established a school system. We made life and property secure, so that industry could again begin to thrive. Then when we had laid deep and broad the foundations upon which civil liberty and national independence must rest, we turned the island over to the hands of those whom its people had chosen as the founders of the new republic. It is a republic with which our own great Republic must ever be closely knit by the ties of common interests and common inspirations. Cuba must always be peculiarly related to us in international politics. She must in international affairs be to a degree a part of our political system. In return she must have peculiar relations with us economically. She must be in a sense part of our economic system. We expect her to accept a political attitude toward us which we think wisest both for her and for us. In return we must be prepared to put her in an economic position as regards our tariff system which will give her some measure of the prosperity which we

enjoy. We cannot, in my judgment, avoid taking this attitude if we are to persevere in the course which we have outlined for ourselves as a nation during the past four years; and therefore I believe that it is only a matter of time—and I trust only a matter of a very short time—before we enter into reciprocal trade relations with Cuba.

The Isthmian Canal is to be one of the greatest, probably the greatest, engineering feat of the twentieth century; and I am glad it is to be done by America. We must take care that it is done under the best conditions and by the best Americans. There are certain preliminary matters to settle. When this has been done, the first question will come upon choosing the commission which is to supervise the building of the Canal. And but one thought here is permissible—how to get the very best men of the highest engineering and business and administrative skill, who will consent to undertake the work. If possible, I wish to see those men represent different sections and different political parties. But those questions are secondary. The primary aim must be to get men who, though able to control much greater salaries than the nation is able to pay, nevertheless possess the patriotism and the healthy ambition which will make them put their talents at the government's service.

So much for what has been done in the Occident. In the Orient the labor was more difficult.

It is rare indeed that a great work, a work supremely worth doing, can be done save at the cost not only of labor and toil, but of much puzzling worry during the time of the performance. Normally, the nation that achieves greatness, like the individual who achieves greatness, can do so only at the cost of anxiety and

bewilderment and heart-wearing effort. Timid people, people scant of faith and hope, and good people who are not accustomed to the roughness of the life of effort —are almost sure to be disheartened and dismayed by the work and the worry, and overmuch cast down by the shortcomings, actual or seeming, which in real life always accompany the first stages even of what eventually turn out to be the most brilliant victories.

All this is true of what has happened during the last four years in the Philippine Islands. The Spanish War itself was an easy task; but it left us certain other tasks which were much more difficult. One of these tasks was that of dealing with the Philippines. The easy thing to do—the thing which appealed not only to lazy and selfish men, but to very many good men whose thought did not drive down to the root of things—was to leave the islands. Had we done this, a period of wild chaos would have supervened, and then some stronger power would have stepped in and seized the islands and have taken up the task which we in such a case would have flinched from performing. A less easy, but infinitely more absurd course, would have been to leave the islands ourselves, and at the same time to assert that we would not permit any one else to interfere with them. This particular course would have combined all the possible disadvantages of every other course which was advocated. It would have placed us in a humiliating position, because when the actual test came it would have been quite out of the question for us, after some striking deed of savagery had occurred in the islands, to stand by and prevent the re-entry of civilization into them, while the mere fact of our having threatened thus to guarantee the local tyrants and wrong-doers against outside interference by ourselves

or others, would have put a premium upon every species of tyranny and anarchy within the islands.

Finally, there was the course which we adopted—not an easy course, and one fraught with danger and difficulty, as is generally the case in this world when some great feat is to be accomplished as an incident to working out national destiny. We made up our minds to stay in the islands—to put down violence—to establish peace and order—and then to introduce a just and wise civil rule accompanied by a measure of self-government which should increase as rapidly as the islanders showed themselves fit for it. It was certainly a formidable task; but think of the marvellously successful way in which it has been accomplished! The first and vitally important feat was the establishment of the supremacy of the American flag; and this had to be done by the effort of these gallant fellow Americans of ours to whom so great a debt is due—the officers and enlisted men of the United States regular and volunteer forces. In a succession of campaigns, carried on in unknown tropic jungles against an elusive and treacherous foe vastly outnumbering them, under the most adverse conditions of climate, weather, and country, our troops completely broke the power of the insurgents, smashed their armies, and harried the broken robber bands into submission. In its last stages, the war against our rule sank into mere brigandage; and what our troops had to do was to hunt down the parties of ladrones. It was not an easy task which it was humanly possible to accomplish in a month or a year; and therefore after the first month and the first year had elapsed, some excellent people said that it couldn't be done; but it was done. Month by month, year by year, with unwearied and patient resolution, our army in the Philippines did the task

which it found ready at hand until the last vestige of organized insurrection was stamped out. I do not refer to the Moros, with whom we have exercised the utmost forbearance, but who may force us to chastise them if they persist in attacking our troops. We will do everything possible to avoid having trouble with them, but if they insist upon it it will come. Among the Filipinos proper, however, peace has come. Doubtless here and there sporadic outbreaks of brigandage will occur from time to time, but organized warfare against the American flag has ceased, and there is no reason to apprehend its recurrence. Our army in the islands has been reduced until it is not a fourth of what it was at the time the outbreak was at its height.

Step by step as the army conquered, the rule of the military was supplanted by the rule of the civil authorities—the soldier was succeeded by the civilian magistrate. The utmost care has been exercised in choosing the best type of Americans for the high civil positions, and the actual work of administration has been done, so far as possible, by native Filipino officials serving under these Americans. The success of the effort has been wonderful. Never has this country had a more upright or an abler body of public representatives than Governor Taft, Vice-Governor Wright, and their associates and subordinates in the Philippine Islands. It is a very difficult matter, practically, to apply the principles of an orderly free government to an Oriental people struggling upward out of barbarism and subjection. It is a task requiring infinite firmness, patience, tact, broadmindedness. All these qualities, and the countless others necessary, have been found in the civil and military officials who have been sent over to administer the islands. It was, of course, inevitable that

there should be occasional failures; but it is astonishing how few these have been. Here and there the civil government which had been established in a given district had to be temporarily withdrawn because of some outbreak. Let me give you an idea of some of the difficulties. We have been trying to put into effect the principle of a popular choice of representative. In one district it proved to be wholly impossible to make the people understand how to vote. Finally they took a little hill, and put two candidates, one on one side and one on the other, and made the people walk up and stand by the candidate they wanted.

But at last, on the July 4th that has just passed—on the one hundred and twenty-sixth anniversary of our independence—it was possible at the same time to declare amnesty throughout the islands and definitely to establish civil rule over all of them, excepting the country of the Mohammedan Moros, where the conditions were wholly different. Each inhabitant of the Philippines is now guaranteed his civil and religious rights, his rights to life, personal liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, subject only to not infringing the rights of others. It is worth noting that during these three or four years under us the Philippine people have attained to a greater degree of self-government, that they now have more to say as to how they shall be governed, than is the case with any people in the Orient which is under European rule. Nor is this all. Congress has, with far-seeing wisdom, heartily supported all that has been done by the Executive. Wise laws for the government of the Philippine Islands have been placed upon the statute-books, and under those laws provision is made for the introduction into the Philippines of representative government, with only the delay absolutely

necessary to allow for the establishment of definite peace, for the taking of a census, and the settling down of the country. In short, we are governing the Filipinos primarily in their interest, and for their very great benefit. And we have acted in practical fashion—not trying to lay down rules as to what should be done in the remote and uncertain future, but turning our attention to the instant need of things and meeting that need in the fullest and amplest way. It would be hard to say whether we owe most to our military or our civil representatives in the Philippines. The soldiers have shown splendid gallantry in the field; and they have done no less admirable work in preparing the provinces for civil government. The civil authorities have shown the utmost wisdom in doing a very difficult and important work, of vast extent. It would be hard to find in modern times a better example of successful constructive statesmanship than the American representatives have given to the Philippine Islands.

In the Philippines, as in Cuba, the instances of wrongdoing among either our civil or military representatives have been astonishingly few; and punishment has been meted with even-handed justice to all offenders.

Nor should it be forgotten that while we have thus acted in the interest of the islanders themselves, we have also helped our own people. Our interests are as great in the Pacific as in the Atlantic. The welfare of California, Oregon, and Washington is as vital to the nation as the welfare of New England, New York, and the South Atlantic States. The awakening of the Orient means very much to all the nations of Christendom, commercially no less than politically; and it would be short-sighted statesmanship on our part to refuse to take the necessary steps for securing a proper share to

our people of this commercial future. The possession of the Philippines has helped us, as the securing of the open door in China has helped us. Already the government has taken the necessary steps to provide for the laying of a Pacific cable under conditions which safeguard absolutely the interests of the American public. Our commerce with the East is growing rapidly. Events have abundantly justified, alike from the moral and material standpoint, all that we have done in the Far East as a sequel to our war with Spain.

X

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

38

COURTESY AND STRENGTH IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS *

You are men and women of Wisconsin, but you are men and women of America first. I am glad of having the chance of saying a few words to you to-day. I believe with all my heart in this nation playing its part manfully and well. I believe that we are now, at the outset of the twentieth century, face to face with great world problems; that we cannot help playing the part of a great world-power; that all we can decide is whether we will play it well or ill. I do not want to see us shrink from any least bit of duty. We have not only taken during the past five years a position of even greater importance in this western hemisphere than ever before, but we have taken a position of great importance even in the farthest Orient, in that farthest West, which is the immemorial East. We must hold our own. If we show ourselves weaklings we will earn the contempt of mankind, and—what is of far more consequence—our own contempt; but I would like to impress upon every public man, upon every writer in the press, the fact that strength should go hand in hand with courtesy, with scrupulous regard in word and deed, not only for the rights, but for the feelings, of other nations. I want to see a man able to hold his own. I have no respect for the man who will put up with injustice. If a man will not take his part, the part is not worth taking.

* Speech at Waukesha, Wis., April 3, 1903.

That is true. On the other hand, I have a hearty contempt for the man who is always walking about wanting to pick a quarrel, and above all, wanting to say something unpleasant about some one else. He is not an agreeable character anywhere; and the fact that he talks loud does not necessarily mean that he fights hard either. Sometimes you will see a man who will talk loud and fight hard; but he does not fight hard because he talks loud, but in spite of it. I want the same thing to be true of us as a nation. I am always sorry whenever I see any reflection that seems to come from America upon any friendly nation. To write or say anything unkind, unjust, or inconsiderate about any foreign nation does not do us any good, and does not help us toward holding our own if ever the need should arise to hold our own. I am sure you will not misunderstand me; I am sure that it is needless for me to say that I do not believe the United States should ever suffer a wrong. I should be the first to ask that we resent a wrong from the strong, just as I should be the first to insist that we do not wrong the weak. As a nation, if we are to be true to our past, we must steadfastly keep these two positions—to submit to no injury by the strong and to inflict no injury on the weak. It is not at all necessary to say disagreeable things about the strong in order to impress them with the fact that we do not intend to submit to injury. Keep our navy up to the highest point of efficiency; have good ships, and enough of them; have the officers and the enlisted men on them trained to handle them, so that in the future the American navy shall rise level, whenever the need comes, to the standard it has set in the past. Keep in our own hearts the rugged, manly virtues, which have made our people formidable as foes, and valuable as

friends throughout the century and a quarter of our national life. Do all that; and having done it, remember that it is a sensible thing to speak courteously of others.

I believe in the Monroe Doctrine. I shall try to see that this nation lives up to it; and as long as I am President it will be lived up to. But I do not intend to make the doctrine an excuse or a justification for being unpleasant to other powers, for speaking ill of other powers. We want the friendship of mankind. We want to get on well with the other nations of mankind, with the small nations and with the big nations. We want so to carry ourselves that if (which I think most unlikely) any quarrel should arise, it would be evident that it was not a quarrel of our own seeking, but one that was forced on us. If it is forced on us, I know you too well not to know that you will stand up to it if the need comes; but you will stand up to it all the better if you have not blustered or spoken ill of other nations in advance. We want friendship; we want peace. We wish well to the nations of mankind. We look with joy at any prosperity of theirs; we wish them success, not failure. We rejoice as mankind moves forward over the whole earth. Each nation has its own difficulties. We have difficulties enough at home. Let us improve ourselves, lifting what needs to be lifted here, and let others do their own work; let us attend to our own business; keep our own hearthstone swept and in order. Do not shirk any duty; do not shirk any difficulty that is forced upon us, but do not invite it by foolish language. Do not assume a quarrelsome and unpleasant attitude toward other people. Let the friendly expressions of foreign powers be accepted as tokens of their sincere good-will, and reflecting their real sentiments;

and let us avoid any language on our part which might tend to turn their good-will into ill-will. All that is mere common sense; the kind of common sense that we apply in our own lives, man to man, neighbor to neighbor; and remember that substantially what is true among nations is true on a small scale among ourselves. The man who is a weakling, who is a coward, we all despise, and we ought to despise him. If a man cannot do his own work and take his own part, he does not count; and I have no patience with those who would have the United States unable to take its own part, to do its work in the world. But remember that a loose tongue is just as unfortunate an accompaniment for a nation as for an individual. The man who talks ill of his neighbors, the man who invites trouble for himself and them, is a nuisance. The stronger, the more self-confident the nation is, the more carefully it should guard its speech as well as its action, and should make it a point, in the interest of its own self-respect, to see that it does not say what it cannot make good, that it avoids giving needless offense, that it shows genuinely and sincerely its desire for friendship with the rest of mankind, but that it keeps itself in shape to make its weight felt should the need arise.

That is in substance my theory of what our foreign policy should be. Let us not boast, not insult any one, but make up our minds coolly what is necessary to say, say it, and then stand to it, whatever the consequences may be.

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THE REPUBLICS OF THE SOUTH *

This is a memorable occasion for all the peoples of the western hemisphere. The building, the corner-stone of which we lay to-day, emphasizes by its existence the growing sense of solidarity of interest and aspiration among all the peoples of the New World. It marks our recognition of the need to knit ever closer together all the republics of the western hemisphere, through the kindly bonds of mutual justice, good-will, and sympathetic comprehension.

At the outset, on behalf of all of us I wish to thank Mr. Carnegie for his generous gift—a gift to all the nations of the New World, and therefore pre-eminently fitting as coming from one who has so sincerely striven for the cause of peace among nations; for while we have yet a long path to tread before we can speak with any certainty of the day when wars shall cease from the earth, we of this western hemisphere by movements such as that symbolized by this building, have taken great strides toward securing permanent peace among ourselves.

In the next place, as President of this Republic I greet the representatives of all our sister republics to the south of us. In a sense, you are our elder sisters and we the younger people, for you represent a more ancient civilization on this continent than we do. Your fathers, the Spanish and Portuguese explorers, conquerors, lawgivers, and commonwealth-builders, had

* Address on the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone of the Bureau of American Republics, May 11, 1908.

founded a flourishing civilization in the tropics and the south temperate zone while all America north of the Rio Grande was still unmapped wilderness. Your people had founded American universities, were building beautiful cities, were laying deep the foundations of future national life, at many different points in the vast territory stretching from the Colorado to the Plata, before the ships of the Frenchman and the Englishman, the Swede and the Hollander, had found permanent havens on the North Atlantic seacoast. For centuries our several civilizations grew each in its own way, but each sundered from the others. Now we are growing together.

More and more in the future we shall each give to and get from the others, not merely things of material value, but things that are of worth for the intellectual and spiritual welfare of all of us. In the century that has passed the development of North America has, on the whole, proceeded faster than the development of South America; but in the century that has now opened I believe that no other part of the world will see such extraordinary development in wealth, in population, in all that makes for progress, as will be seen from the northern boundary of Mexico, through all Central and South America, and I can assure you that the people of this nation look with the most profound satisfaction upon the great growth that has already taken place in the countries which you represent—a growth alike in political stability and in the material well-being which can only come when there is political stability.

Our battle fleet has just finished its trip around South America. [*Great applause.*] I am glad to hear you applaud the fleet. I believe in peace and arbitration and I also believe in keeping in such trim that it shall be a

temptation to nobody to wrong us. This is an interlude. In that admirable speech of Secretary Root's to which you have just listened there was one sentence I wish we could see engraved on this building: "The matters in dispute between nations are nothing; the spirit which deals with them is everything." Whatever disputes we have with another nation I hope our people will always approach them with the honest desire to come to a peaceable settlement. And moreover, I hope our people will remember not only the sentence that I have just quoted, but the one that went before: "There are no international controversies so serious that they cannot be settled peaceably, if both parties desire settlement; while there are few causes of dispute so trifling that they cannot be made the occasion of war if either party really desires war." If we build up the American fleet as we ought to build it up, the other party will not "really desire war." My advocacy of peace is both sincere and rational; and therefore I believe in doing all we can to secure it, both by doing no wrong ourselves, and by keeping in such a state of preparedness that we shall not be exposed to being wronged by others.

I wish to thank the rulers and the peoples of South America and of Mexico for the generous and courteous hospitality which has been shown this fleet on every possible occasion throughout the trip.

In conclusion, let me speak of another trip, made a couple of years ago by the secretary of state, Elihu Root, the first time in our history the American secretary of state, during his term of office, left the country to visit certain other nations. Mr. Root made the complete tour of South America, traversed Central America, and afterward visited Mexico. He was everywhere received with the heartiest greeting, a greeting which

deeply touched our people, and I wish to say once more how appreciative we are of the reception tendered him.

His voyage was unique in character and in value. It was undertaken only because we citizens of this Republic recognize that our interests are more closely intertwined with the interests of the other peoples of this continent than with those of any other nations. I believe that history will say that though we have had other great secretaries of state, we have had none greater than Elihu Root; and that though in his high office he has done much for the good of his nation and of mankind, yet that his greatest achievement has been the success which has come as the result of his devoted labor to bring closer together all the republics of the New World, and to unite them in the effort to work valiantly for our common betterment, for the material and moral welfare of all who dwell in the western hemisphere.

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THE AWAKENING OF CHINA *

RECENTLY on two different Sundays I have listened to sermons, one by Mr. Howard Richards, Jr., an Episcopal missionary, of Boone College in Wuchang, China, and one by the Reverend Doctor John Fox, a Presbyterian clergyman, who, on behalf of the Bible Society, has just made a tour of the world, devoting his time especially to China. Doctor Fox urged in the strongest way the need of our giving substantial backing to the Bible Society—and it is not very creditable to us as a people that the British Bible Society should have three times the funds of the American Bible Society. But what concerned me most at the moment was the very strong appeal made by both speakers for aid in awakening and directing the interest of the American people in the cause of Christian education for China. The appeal was made by both men in the broadest possible spirit, not especially on behalf of any institution, any church or denomination, but in advocacy of the fulfilment of our human, philanthropic, Christian obligations to this great awakening people across the sea. Mr. Richards described his experience during the famine, when on the famine relief committee at Hsuchou, six days' journey from Shanghai. Not only he and other Episcopalians, but Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, all served together on the committee in charge of the handling and distribution of the large amount of foodstuffs and money given to the starving people. He dwelt on

* *The Outlook*, November 28, 1908.

the way he was impressed while thus serving on the committee, by seeing Chinese students from schools carried on by each of these three churches represented on the committee. He spoke of the great amount of educational work being carried on in China, not only by the Protestant denominations, but by the different Roman Catholic orders, many of which are backed by men and money from Roman Catholics of the United States; and he mentioned particularly the successful school for Chinese boys at Wuchang carried on by Father Espelage, and his own special friendship for one of the men who at Hsuchou was carrying on a Roman Catholic school for farmers' boys, who were supported at the remarkably low cost of less than six cents a day. The appeals of both Mr. Richards and Doctor Fox were made in the largest sense for Christian and humanitarian work. Doctor Fox mentioned several very striking facts to show the awakening of interest in Occidental thought and work among the people of China; how one prominent viceroy, a very able and high-minded man, though not a professed Christian, has translated into Chinese not only certain scientific works such as the writings of Huxley, but also many chapters from the four Gospels; and how a search in the book-stalls of one Chinese city showed no less than ninety books recently published dealing with phases of Occidental thought, or giving advice by Chinese writers to their own countrymen based on Occidental experiences of all kinds, from kindergartens to Christianity.

China is awakening. There is increasing contact with foreigners, increasing foreign trade, and a growing adoption of modern methods of communication and transportation, while some progress is being made in the introduction of labor-saving devices, with consequent

industrial evolution. In over a hundred cities there is now a more or less successful effort to introduce a Western police system, and what this means for the preservation of order it is hardly necessary to point out. Much admirable evangelistic, educational, and medical missionary work is being done by the missionaries; and a part of this consists in the introduction and broadcast circulation of translations of the Bible and of Western literature. The attitude of the Chinese toward learning from the West has been utterly changed ever since August, 1901, when, by an imperial edict, the old-style literary examinations were abolished, and it was directed that future candidates, for degrees as well as for office, should write their essays on such modern topics as Western science, government, and laws. In August last over a hundred Chinese students who are studying in this country met in conference at Ashburnham, Mass. Such a movement as this means a shaking loose from the old superstitions which have fettered the Chinese to a degree it is hard for us to realize; and it also means the growth of a real and intelligent spirit of patriotism in all parts of China.

Americans are doing much for securing Christian education among the Chinese. They are training many of the future leaders and thousands of the rank and file. In 1907 there were nearly thirty thousand Chinese students among the eleven hundred and fifty-three American educational institutions in China, which embraced kindergartens, primary schools, high schools, colleges, universities, normal, divinity, and trade schools. Many men who have received their early training at some one of the American schools or colleges in China are now mightily influencing the industrial, political, and moral life of their land. One of the most important functions

of these schools has been to supply good native teachers for China, and their graduates are in constantly increasing demand. But recently, in making such a demand, the Chinese director-general of education at Nanking, who is not himself a Christian, stated in explanation that the old moral maxims of Chinese education, though they expressed abstract truths, had no spiritual motives behind them, and that the old and formalized religion had been divorced from morality, and concluded with these striking words: "The only religion that teaches both the spiritual wants of mankind and the principles of morality also is the Christian religion. That is why we wish you to teach it in our leading schools." The American schools stimulate and aid the best Chinese in an earnest fight against opium and kindred vices, and against political corruption, and encourage them bravely to strive for a high standard of domestic morality.

Surely when so much is being done by brave, sincere, disinterested countrymen of ours over in China, we at home should help them with men and with money. I believe that such help would benefit us commercially, but I do not advocate it chiefly for this reason; indeed, I think the chief good to the United States would be the good always derived by a nation, as by an individual, when noble and unselfish work is done. The work of the missionaries tends to avert revolutionary disturbances in China, and to lead her into a position of power for peace and righteousness. She cannot herself at present carry on an effective educational work; in addition to the lack of teachers, the Chinese debt is too great—and incidentally Americans must feel a genuine sense of pleasure in this nation's having returned the major part of the indemnity fund to China. The Christian educational schools in China must for the

present take the leading part in the work for the uplifting of the whole Chinese character, for that depends primarily, as the character of every nation must depend, on the lives of the individual men and women.

The awakening of China is one of the great events of our age, and the remedy for the "yellow peril," whatever that may be, is not the repression of life but the cultivation and direction of life. Here at home we believe that the remedy for popular discontent is not repression but justice and education. Similarly, the best way to avert possible peril, commercial or military, from the great Chinese people, is by behaving righteously toward them and by striving to inspire a righteous life among them. Our Christian missions have for their object not only the saving of souls, but the imparting of a life that makes possible the kingdom of God on the earth. It seems to me that there is no place where there is better opportunity to-day to do this work than in China, and I earnestly hope that we can attract the attention of the great public outside of the so-called missionary circles to the possibility and practicability, no less than to the importance, of the work. As Bishop Brent has said, *now* is the time for the West to implant its ideals in the Orient, in such fashion as to minimize the chance of a dreadful future clash between two radically different and hostile civilizations; if we wait until to-morrow, we may find that we have waited too long.

41

THE JAPANESE QUESTION *

THERE are certain elementary principles all of which should be kept steadily in view if a nation wishes to act justly both by itself and by others. It must insist upon what is necessary for its own healthy life, and this even at the cost of a possible clash; but this insistence on what is due to itself should always be accompanied by all possible courtesy to and fair dealing with others.

These are the principles upon which the people of the United States should act as regards the question of the immigration of the Japanese into this country. The Japanese are a highly civilized people of extraordinary military, artistic, and industrial development; they are proud, warlike, and sensitive. I believe that our people have, what I personally certainly have, a profound and hearty admiration for them; an admiration for their great deeds and great qualities, an ungrudging respect for their national character. But this admiration and respect is accompanied by the firm conviction that it is not for the advantage of either people that emigrants from either country should settle in mass in the other country. The understanding between the two countries on this point should be on a basis of entire mutuality, and therefore on a basis which will preserve unimpaired the self-respect of each country, and permit each to continue to feel friendly good-will for the other. Japan would certainly object to the incoming of masses

* *The Outlook*, May 8, 1909.

of American farmers, laborers, and small traders; indeed, the Japanese would object to this at least as strongly as the men of the Pacific coast and Rocky Mountain States object to the incoming in mass of Japanese workmen, agricultural laborers, and men engaged in small trades. The Japanese certainly object to Americans acquiring land in Japan at least as much as the Americans of the far Western States object to the Japanese acquiring land on our soil. The Americans who go to Japan and the Japanese who come to America should be of the same general class—that is, they should be travellers, students, teachers, scientific investigators, men engaged in international business, men sojourning in the land for pleasure or study. As long as the emigration from each side is limited to classes such as these, there will be no settlement in mass, and therefore no difficulty. Wherever there is settlement in mass—that is, wherever there is a large immigration of urban or agricultural laborers, or of people engaged in small local business of any kind—there is sure to be friction. It is against the interests of both nations that such unrestricted immigration or settlement in mass should be allowed as regards either nation. This is the cardinal fact in the situation; it should be freely recognized by both countries, and can be accepted by each not only without the slightest loss of self-respect, but with the certainty that its acceptance will tend to preserve mutual respect and friendliness.

But in achieving this policy we should bear steadily in mind that it is our duty to combine the maximum of efficiency with the minimum of offensiveness. Only the National Government can carry out such a policy effectively, and the surest way to do harm is for State, municipal, or other local governments to pass laws

which would be ineffective to obtain the real object and yet would produce intense irritation. The best of all possible ways in which to achieve the object is that which the governments of the two countries have now by common agreement adopted; for the Japanese Government has on its own initiative and of its own accord undertaken to prevent the coming hither in any appreciable numbers of Japanese of the classes to which I have referred. This agreement during the last year or thereabouts has worked so well that actually more Japanese have left the country than have come into it, and there has therefore been a diminution of their numbers. If this continues, all difficulties will cease without the need of further action, whether by treaty or by legislation. On the one hand, it is for the common interest of both countries that Japan should effectively and rigorously carry out this policy. On the other hand, it is not only the interest but the duty of America to take no further action until it can be seen whether this policy is successful; and this is just as wise, just as incumbent on us, whether we do or do not believe that it will be successful. The success of the policy must be gauged by its actual results; that is, by the extent to which it arrests the immigration of large bodies of Japanese. If the Japanese Government proves unable to carry its policy through, then undoubtedly this government, by treaty or by legislation, must protect itself and secure the desired result on its own initiative. But in such a case it would be doubly incumbent upon us to take the action in the way that would provoke the least possible friction and cause the least possible hard feeling. Moreover, we should make it evident that the recognition of the fact that it is to the interest of both races that the masses of both races should be kept apart

is in no way incompatible with the heartiest feelings of mutual respect and admiration between the two races.

The fact that all really patriotic and far-sighted Americans insist that hand in hand with a policy of good-will toward foreign nations should go the policy of the upbuilding of our navy is often interpreted by well-meaning but short-sighted men as being a threat toward other nations, or as being provocative of war. Of the two assumptions the first is utterly unwarranted, and the second is the direct reverse of the truth. We have the right to say, for instance, what immigrants shall come to our own shores; but we are powerless to enforce this right against any nation that chooses to disregard our wishes, unless we continue to build up and maintain a first-class fighting navy. The professional peace advocate who wishes us to stop building up our navy is, in reality, seeking to put us in a position where we would be absolutely at the mercy of any other nation that happened to wish to disregard our desires to control the immigration that comes to our shores, to protect our own interests in the Panama Canal, to protect our own citizens abroad, or to take any stand whatever either for our own international honor or in the interest of international righteousness. Moreover, those well-meaning but fatuous advocates of peace who would try to prevent the upbuilding of our navy utterly misread the temper of their countrymen. We Americans are ourselves both proud and high-spirited, and we are not always by any means far-sighted. If our honor or our interest were menaced by a foreign power, this nation would fight, wholly without regard to whether or not its navy was efficient. In the event of a crisis arising, the peace advocates who object to our building up the navy would be absolutely powerless to

prevent this country going to war. All they could do would be to prevent its being successful in the war. A strong navy is the surest guaranty of peace that America can have, and the cheapest insurance against war that Uncle Sam can possibly pay.

42

THE MANAGEMENT OF SMALL STATES WHICH ARE UNABLE TO MANAGE THEMSELVES *

In the issue of *The Outlook* for June 18 there was a quotation from a letter of an anti-imperialist correspondent, who, in speaking of Egypt and the Philippines, stated that the proper course to pursue was to protect countries of this nature by international agreement, the writer citing in support of his theory the way in which many small powers had their territories guaranteed by international agreement.

The trouble is in the confusion of ideas which results in trying to apply the same principle to two totally different classes of cases. A state like Switzerland or Holland differs only in size from the greatest of civilized nations, and in everything except size stands at least on a level with them. Such a state is absolutely competent to preserve order within its own bounds, to execute substantial justice, and to secure the rights of foreigners. All that is necessary, therefore, is to guarantee it against aggression; and when the great powers have thus guaranteed it, all covenanting to protect it from the aggression of any one of their own number, their duty is done and the needs of the situation completely met. In such a state the people themselves guarantee stability, order, liberty, and protection for the rights of others. There is not the slightest need of interfering with them, of seeking to develop them, of protecting them from themselves. The needs of civilization and

* *The Outlook*, July 2, 1910.

humanity are sufficiently met by protecting them from outside aggression.

There is no analogy at all with what occurs in a community unable to keep elementary order, or to secure elementary justice within its own borders, and unable or unwilling to do justice to foreign nations. The very worst thing from the standpoint of humanity which can happen to such a community may be to guarantee it against outside aggression. The condition of Algeria under French rule is infinitely better than its condition before the French came to Algeria, or than the condition of Morocco at this moment. The condition of Turkestan under Russia has very greatly improved. The condition of the Soudan at present, as compared with the condition of the Soudan under Mahdist rule, is the most striking example of all. In the same way, Panama has benefited immeasurably from every standpoint by the presence of Americans on the Isthmus. Any arrangement which had guaranteed Algeria against the French, or Turkestan against the Russians, or the Soudan against the English, or Panama against the Americans, would have been an arrangement against the interests of humanity and civilization, and against the interests of the natives of the countries themselves.

Moreover, if there must be interference for the sake of the country itself, to promote its growth in order and civilization, actual experience has shown that such interference can only come efficiently by one nation, and not by many. Untried theorists, or even practical men who are influenced by national jealousy and are untaught by the lessons of history, have a curious fondness for trying a system of joint interference or joint control. Americans forget, for instance, that we have actually tried this system and found it completely

wanting, in the case of Samoa. We made an arrangement with England and Germany by which there was a joint protectorate over Samoa. The system worked wretchedly. It resulted badly for the natives; it was a fruitful source of bickering among the three powers. Then we abandoned the system, each power took its own sphere, and since then we have gotten along admirably; the only trouble in connection with Samoa which arose during my entire administration as President came because we were not able to grant the earnest request of the natives that we should take real and complete possession of our part of the islands and really regulate the government instead of leaving it so much in the hands of the native chiefs.

In the case of the Philippines, there were just two things that we could do which would have been worse than leaving them under Spanish rule. One of these would have been to turn the islands adrift to manage themselves. The second would have been to try to manage them by a joint arrangement of various powers. Any such arrangement in the case of as rich and valuable islands as the Philippines would very possibly have led to war between the great powers. It would have certainly led to jealousy, bickerings, and intrigue among them, would have held the islands back, would have prevented any development along the lines of progress and civilization, and would have insured an endless succession of devastating little civil wars.

When all that is necessary as regards a small state is to protect it from external aggression, then the great powers can with advantage join to guarantee its integrity. When anything more is necessary to try to develop the people and civilization, to put down disorder, to stop civil war and secure justice, then a com-

bination of powers offers the worst possible way of securing the object sought to be achieved. Indeed, under such circumstances it is probably better for the state concerned to be under the control of a single power, even though this power has not high ideals, rather than under the control of three or four powers which may possess high ideals but which are put into such an impossible situation that they are certain to be riven asunder by jealousy, distrust, and intrigue, and to do damage rather than good to the people whom they are supposed to protect.

43

THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS *

I APPRECIATE very deeply this farewell dinner given to me on the eve of my departure for South America. I am going in response to the invitations of certain learned bodies in the three great republics, the three prosperous and progressive commonwealths of Brazil, the Argentine, and Chile. I gladly accepted the invitations when once I understood that I was asked because these great democracies wished to hear my views on democracy, and in addition wished to hear me, as a private citizen who once held a position of prominence in this Republic, speak of the questions that peculiarly concern all the peoples of the western hemisphere. To-night I wish to say a word to you on these questions and it is particularly appropriate to speak to the Progressive party, because that party alone is now taking the proper attitude toward foreign questions; for our position is sound in regard to foreign as in regard to domestic affairs; and unfortunately for the last four years and a half the attitude of both the old parties in foreign affairs has been discreditable to our national self-respect and to our ability to serve either our own true interests or the true interests of foreign powers.

It is continually growing less and less possible for any great civilized nation to live purely for and by itself. Exactly as steam and electricity and the extraordinary

* Address at New York, October 3, 1913.

agencies of modern industrialism have rendered more complex and more intimate the relations of all the individuals within each nation, so the same causes have rendered more complex and more intimate the relations of the various civilized nations with one another. In the western hemisphere each nation has been in the past so busy developing the new resources of its own new soil that it has tended to let the representatives of Old World peoples have complete charge of what these resources produced in the way of commodities in international business. This period is now drawing to a close. We are no longer content to see all the international business of all the American commonwealths transacted through European hands. In particular we feel that there should be closer business and economic relations between our own great business Republic, our great industrial Republic, of the United States, and the republics that have been growing so fast in prosperity and stability and power in South America.

Our forefathers were wise and foresighted in laying the foundations for our great internal development. The time has clearly arrived when we must be equally wise and foresighted in laying the foundations for our external development. We are now a people of one hundred million. We are a nation among the nations. Our forefathers could but dimly see how great a place we were to hold; yet they builded wisely; and now in our turn let us build no less wisely for our children and our children's children.

As all inhabitable parts of the globe are now known, this is pre-eminently the time for us to gain, and not release, wherever we can, a commercial footing on a "live-and-let-live" basis; a footing that will furnish an outlet for the most characteristic trait of our American

men, namely, executive and organizing ability in business. There is no better or more worth-while field for this than in Latin America and the Far East. Other nations are already keenly alive to their need for commercial outlets. Already we are behind the European countries in our trade and commerce with the countries to the south of us. The latest figures I have been able to obtain show that in 1911 the sales of Mexico, the West Indies, Central and South America to the outside world aggregated over one billion three hundred million dollars; while the sales of the outside world to those countries aggregated about one billion two hundred million dollars, a credit balance to those countries of over one hundred million dollars. And yet in the same year the sales of those countries to the United States aggregated over four hundred and fifty million dollars, while the sales of the United States to them aggregated only two hundred and ninety million dollars, a balance against the United States of one hundred and sixty million dollars. There are many reasons why this condition should be changed, and pre-eminent among them is the importance of more permanent employment and better wages for those actually engaged in raising and making the wares that we have for sale.

Our relations with the other republics of this hemisphere must necessarily be both political and economic. As, in the years now opening, they will certainly be closer than ever before, it is eminently desirable that they should be on a better basis than ever before. Let me speak of the economic relations first. Fortunately, the time has gone by when it was believed that a business transaction was normally beneficial to one party and detrimental to the other. Exactly as no private business is healthy unless on the average both parties

to the transaction are benefited, so no international business can ever be on a really flourishing basis unless it is to the advantage of both the nations engaged.

We wish to open the countries of South America to our business, we wish to create a market for the products of our business men, the farmers, and wage-workers in South America. This cannot be done at all unless it is to the advantage of the various peoples of South America to have such products. It cannot be made a striking success unless the South Americans find that it is very much to *their* advantage to deal with us, and unless they so thrive and prosper that it will be greatly to *our* advantage to extend our dealings with them. In private life a man's only customers who are worth anything are those who can pay for what they get, and his best customers are those whose prosperity increases so that they can get a great deal; in other words it is self-evidently to the advantage of every business man to have a prosperous community with which to do business.

In just the same way it is to the advantage of us as a nation to see the nations with which we do business thrive, prosper, and enormously to increase their material well-being, and therefore their wish and their ability to enter into business relations with us. If we are decent people we ought in any event to be glad to see prosperity come to our neighbors. But in addition to this, if we possess an intelligent appreciation of our own material self-interest, we shall rejoice for our own sakes at the marvellous economic and political growth in such nations as the three I have mentioned and am about to visit, Brazil, the Argentine, and Chile. We could not be useful to them if we were not ourselves prosperous, and their usefulness to us in return is largely

conditioned upon their prosperity. The material well-being of both sides is helped by any increase of material well-being on either side.

Don't misunderstand me. I am the last man who would preach the doctrine, and this is the last audience that would tolerate the doctrine, that material prosperity is or can ever be the be-all or end-all of national life, or that international relations should be based only on material considerations. But it is absolutely necessary that there should be a foundation of material prosperity in order to achieve greatness, national or international. Sane and healthy material prosperity in a man's neighbors benefits the man; and prosperity in neighboring countries benefits the country that deals with them. We Progressives preach within our own nation the doctrine of social consciousness, the doctrine that in the long run each of us is helped to go up if all of us are helped to go up. So likewise we preach the doctrine of an international social consciousness, the doctrine that teaches us, not in a spirit of sentimentalism but with cool-headed sanity, to understand that in the long run it is good for each nation of mankind to see the other nations of mankind go up and not down. We no more believe in weakness in dealing with international offenders than in dealing with criminals within our own limits. We no more intend to do away with the American navy and abandon the fortification of the Panama Canal, than we intend to do away with the New York police. But we do intend to do all we can to help all the nations of mankind, including our own, to rise, away from barbarism and savagery and the brutalities of physical violence, toward an orderly self-respecting and law-abiding civilization, to which brutality and fraud are as alien as weakness, and where

justice and fair dealing are accepted ideals not only as among the individuals within the nation but in dealing with all other nations.

A concrete instance of what I mean and the way it benefits others by benefiting ourselves is afforded by the Panama Canal. The digging of that Canal will be a help to this country as a whole, and of course notably to the Pacific coast and the Gulf and South Atlantic States. But it is almost or quite as great a benefit to other countries as it will be to us. I gravely question whether the United States itself will benefit more by the building of the Canal than such countries as, for example, Chile and Australia. It will be our own fault if to the great benefit that Chile gains from speedier communication with Europe is not also added the great benefit both to Chile and to ourselves of speedier and better communication between our Atlantic coast States and the coast of Chile, and indeed all of the republics along the Pacific coast of South America. In matters of this kind our nation should copy the example of Germany. The German Government has made itself a most efficient influence in developing markets for German merchants and business men, and our own National Government should in similar fashion be turned into an instrument for developing and helping American business everywhere, but especially in the countries of South America.

When countries are thrown into economic relations, it is inevitable that they should have political relations also, and in one case as in the other the relations should be based on the spirit of justice and of fair play. In the present stage of the world I do not believe that any foreign policy will be permanently advantageous to any country, unless together with the proper and necessary

regard for its own interests it combines regard for the interests of the other country to which the policy applies. I do not mean that there should be any neglecting of our own interests. In actual practice it would be hypocritical to say that there should be such neglect, because no policy could be permanently maintained that did not contain an element of benefit to our own people. But I do most emphatically say that in international policy, the nation, while free from every taint of weakness, or of that foolish sentimentality that sacrifices reality to pretense, should also show a genuine and effective regard for the rights of others, genuine heed to what I believe to be the sound principle of mutuality of benefit and obligation in international precisely as in internal dealings. Above all we should make no promises that we do not keep. It is dishonorable for a nation as for an individual to break promises; and the most dishonorable way is both to break them and at the same time to make mere promises which cannot and ought not to be kept. This especially applies to international questions such as arbitration treaties. At this moment we are not living up to the treaties we have made, and yet are indulging in magniloquent talk about making new treaties, which in their turn would be promptly repudiated if ever the time came to reduce them to practice. Such a course justly exposes us to derision. It is as if in the business world a merchant repudiated his just debts, and at the same moment announced that he would like to incur new debts which there was no possibility of his paying. Only very silly people would be taken in by or approve such conduct. So it is with our nation and the question of arbitration treaties. We already have arbitration treaties. Let us continue them and live up to them, and until we have

done so let us remember that it is idle folly to talk of making new treaties—that is, new promises—especially when these promises are themselves foolish. It is a mean morality which breaks or promises, and then as a substitute for keeping it proposes to make a new one which would certainly in its turn be broken.

I ask your especial attention to the Monroe Doctrine. That doctrine has been formulated for some eighty years, and although unformulated it was to a certain extent appreciated and acted upon for eight or ten years previously, that is, ever since the time when the Latin-American colonies began to assert their independence. The central thesis of the doctrine is that this hemisphere shall no longer be treated as a region in which Old World powers shall seek territorial aggrandizement. There are certain necessary implications in this doctrine; such as, for example, that Old World powers shall not be permitted to enter on a course of action which will be likely to lead to territorial aggrandizement on their part; and that New World powers shall not be upheld in wrong-doing which will provoke and justify such territorial aggrandizement. But these are mere necessary details of the application of the theory with which we need not at the moment concern ourselves.

The main thesis was that there should be no territorial aggrandizement on this continent at the expense or to the jeopardy of any American commonwealth by Old World powers; this doctrine being advanced both in our interest, in the interest of our own safety and protection, and also in the interest of the other peoples of this hemisphere. Now no such doctrine, no such policy is worth the paper on which it is written unless there is ability to back it up. The one efficient guaranty of the Monroe Doctrine in the past has been

the more or less general acceptance abroad of the belief that the American people were willing and able to back it up. If the United States stopped building up its navy, the Monroe Doctrine would be the emptiest of empty phrases. At the time that the doctrine was promulgated the only power on the western hemisphere to which foreign nations paid any heed at all was the United States. As soon as the United States became involved in Civil War, so that its power in the face of other nations vanished and became for the time being a negligible quantity, all respect for the Monroe Doctrine also vanished. European powers invaded and took possession of American soil, and finally they actually set up a foreign empire just south of us, an empire that fell as soon as the United States again became an undivided nation.

In the past then, it was an absolute necessity that the United States should treat the Monroe Doctrine as being within its special custodianship and to be invoked by it as regards all sections of the continent. As rapidly, however, as the other nations on this continent achieve political and social stability, and the economic prosperity that goes hand in hand with such stability and power, the need for treating our country as the sole and special guardian of the Monroe Doctrine just to that extent decreases. I believe that the century that is opening will see South America, will see Latin America, so grow in power and prosperity as to make this growth the central feature in the growth of the world in the twentieth century, precisely as the growth of North America was the central feature in the growth of the civilized world during the nineteenth century. As the several countries of Latin America thus grow in orderly strength and well-being, they will themselves

naturally and inevitably assume for themselves the guardianship of the doctrine; and if, and so long as, this orderly growth continues, our responsibility for the doctrine and the need for exercising the responsibility will gradually, step by step, cease until we either share it with many others or the need for its assertion altogether vanishes. As yet such result is not within the ken of our vision for large portions of the territory in question; including for instance the lands and waters through which the Panama Canal and its approaches run, where our interests are vital, and can be defended only by a power of the first class.

But already this result has in my judgment actually come to pass in the southern half of South America. Brazil, the Argentine, Chile, have achieved positions of such assured material and political progress, of such political stability and power and economic prosperity, and have shown by their actions in reference to one another such power of efficient and unified effort for a just and common end, that in my judgment it is safe to say that there is no further need for the United States to concern itself about asserting the Monroe Doctrine so far as these powers are concerned. Their progress in all ways has been so great that they neither invite attack by wrong-doing to others and by disorder, nor yet invite it by inability to defend themselves. Under these conditions, the enforcement of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine as far as they are concerned can be safely left to their own initiative and interest; and in this matter as in all other matters henceforth the dealings of this country with them should be merely those of an equal dealing with equals who are able to guard their own interests and who are desirous of dealing honorably with all men. In short, as regards these

three great commonwealths our attitude should be substantially what it is as regards the great Canadian commonwealth north of us. In the utterly, the well-nigh impossible event of any one of them being attacked by some outside power, and in jeopardy of conquest, the United States with all its strength would stand ready to offer its aid, but with no thought of further interference than is implied in such action.

I ask you, my hearers, to remember that such a policy as I have outlined must rest on a basis not only of good intentions and sincerity but also of strength. There is no mental attitude more mischievous than the confounding of folly and weakness with virtue. I have spoken above of the Panama Canal, and of the enormous benefits its building, now so nearly accomplished, will confer upon us and upon the nations of mankind. Remember that the Canal could not have been built if I and those about me ten years ago had paid heed to the counsels of folly and weakness masquerading as virtue. What this country wished was to see that Canal built. It did not interfere as long as there was a chance that it would be built by outside effort in such shape that it would not be in any way under the control of any non-American power. If any of the three countries I have already mentioned in this speech, if Chile, if the Argentine, if Brazil, had possessed the Isthmus, the Canal would undoubtedly have been built under the direction of the government owning the Isthmus, and with a hearty Godspeed from the United States. In the actual event I was finally faced by the alternative of seeing the building of the Canal indefinitely postponed, or else of having America, in the interest of the people of Panama through whose territory the Canal was to pass, in our own interest, and in

the interest of the nations of mankind, take hold and build it.

I have not the time this evening to go into the details of my action. Any of you who are interested in those details will find them set forth in full in an article of mine that will soon be forthcoming. Suffice it to say that the course of events reluctantly forced on me the conviction that the then owners of the Isthmus, whose action was unanimously repudiated by the people dwelling on the Isthmus, were proceeding in bad faith toward us and with both folly and prospective bad faith toward outsiders. We were faced by the likelihood of seeing a great and formidable Old World power forced to take possession of the Isthmus and itself undertake the work of building the Canal; the alternative being that the Canal would not be built at all. Under the circumstances, and in accordance with the highest ethical conceptions of my duty toward this people and mankind, I acted. If I had not acted precisely as I did, and at the precise time I did, there would have been no canal to-day, and not only this country but the nations of mankind would be by so much the poorer and more backward.

So it is in other international matters. I do not believe in the attitude this country has taken in the Far East during the last four and a half years. But I am not now discussing that question. I am speaking of the affairs of this hemisphere. The United States has but one request to make of each of its neighbors, the request that that neighbor shall prosper; for such prosperity can only come on a basis of order, of stability, of just regard for the rights of others, and of power to insist upon one's own rights. In the long run anarchy reduces a country to impotence both abroad and at

home, impotence to do justice to the strangers within its borders, and impotence to protect itself from aggression. No such condition can permanently endure in countries which are obviously within the sphere of action of the United States. The United States is disinterestedly anxious to see its neighbors do well. All it asks of them is that they do well, that they themselves show the qualities which will enable them to grow and to prosper. But this much it must ask, and with less than this it cannot permanently be contented.

Mind you, the words that I now use have been made good by my deeds while I was President of the United States. We had freed Cuba from a foreign yoke, and had said that we would make it an independent nation. While I was President this promise was made good. We started Cuba on her career of self-government. Then there came a revolution, and anarchy threatened the island. We interfered, restored order, stayed in the island until it was once more started on a career of stability and prosperity, and then left it so that it was again an independent and sovereign republic.

Again, take what happened in San Domingo. In that island revolution succeeded revolution until the position became one of utter anarchy, and American interests and the lives of the Americans in the island were jeopardized. Remember that I never said that I would refuse to run the risk of shedding a drop of blood to protect American property, that doctrine if carried out logically would mean that no policeman ought ever to arrest a burglar or a pickpocket, for burglary and highway robbing are only offenses against property, whereas interference with them undoubtedly means incurring the risk of bloodshed. Nor did I say that all American citizens should leave the country, abandoning

their property to the good-will of the contending factions. My position was the direct reverse. My position was that if Americans had a right to be in a country, they could stay there, and every resource of the government would be exhausted to protect them. Nor did I refuse to act at all until foreign powers acted, nor either ask or accept their co-operation in action; still less did I follow a course which was certain to produce anarchy and make existing conditions worse, so as to force intervention. I protected the rights of our own people, while nevertheless examining their claims so carefully as to insure us against protecting any of them in wrong-doing. I no less carefully acted in the interest of the people of San Domingo. Every step I took was carefully considered so as to strengthen and not weaken the government of the country, and to make it easier for the country to pay its debts, to maintain order, to preserve its integrity, and to avoid outside intervention. I arranged for the administration of the custom-houses under one or two trained experts, guaranteeing the custom-houses against any interference. Of the amount collected forty-five per cent was turned over to the government to enable it to run, and the remaining fifty-five per cent accumulated to pay off the various debts and the interest on the debts. This arrangement produced peace in the island, was of immeasurable benefit to the people of the island, and it secured justice for the strangers in the island. I at once deprived the foreign powers (which were preparing to take the custom-houses) of both the opportunity and the need for so doing, and thereby prevented any outside interference with the island. The action greatly reduced the likelihood of revolutionary disturbance by withdrawing the chief hope of pecuniary reward from

possible revolutionists. It saved us from any need of military interference in the island, enabling us to withdraw our war-ships from the waters after a very brief period, so that we only had one or two custom-house officers left, these officers being in the service of the native authorities. We immensely benefited the government, not only by giving it stability, but because forty-five per cent of the revenues efficiently and honestly collected by us actually surpassed the total amount that had formerly been collected when all in theory went to the then government. Finally, it satisfied all honest creditors, and made the dishonest creditors understand that they would not be allowed to get a penny to which they were not entitled.

I have mentioned Panama, Cuba, and San Domingo because the incidents took place under my administration. Not a drop of American blood was shed in any one of the three cases, nor was a drop of blood shed by any American. Absolute justice was done in each case. Cuba, Panama, and San Domingo were all alike immensely benefited by what we did, all excuse for interference in American affairs by foreign nations was removed, justice was done to all foreign nations, the rights of every American citizen were protected, the interests of the American nation were preserved, and all this was done in strictest compliance with the eternal laws of righteousness and of honorable dealing as between man and man, nation and nation.

XI

INTERNATIONAL PEACE

44

RUSSO-JAPANESE PEACE *

Gentlemen:

I propose a toast to which there will be no answer, and to which I ask you to drink in silence standing. I drink to the welfare and prosperity of the sovereigns and peoples of the two great nations whose representatives have met one another on this ship. It is my most earnest hope and prayer, in the interest of not only these two great powers, but of all mankind, that a just and lasting peace may be speedily concluded between them.

* Speech on the occasion of the meeting of the Russian and Japanese peace envoys, on board the *Mayflower*, near Oyster Bay, N. Y., August 5, 1905.

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INTERNATIONAL PEACE *

It is with peculiar pleasure that I stand here to-day to express the deep appreciation I feel of the high honor conferred upon me by the presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize. The gold medal which formed part of the prize I shall always keep, and I shall hand it on to my children as a precious heirloom. The sum of money provided as part of the prize by the wise generosity of the illustrious founder of this world-famous prize system I did not, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, feel at liberty to keep. I think it eminently just and proper that in most cases the recipient of the prize should keep for his own use the prize in its entirety. But in this case, while I did not act officially as President of the United States, it was nevertheless only because I was President that I was enabled to act at all; and I felt that the money must be considered as having been given me in trust for the United States. I therefore used it as a nucleus for a foundation to forward the cause of industrial peace, as being well within the general purpose of your committee; for in our complex industrial civilization of to-day the peace of righteousness and justice, the only kind of peace worth having, is at least as necessary in the industrial world as it is among nations. There is at least as much need to curb the cruel greed and arrogance of part of the world of

* Address before the Nobel Prize Committee, delivered at Christiania, Norway, May 5, 1910.

capital, to curb the cruel greed and violence of part of the world of labor, as to check a cruel and unhealthy militarism in international relationships.

We must ever bear in mind that the great end in view is righteousness, justice as between man and man, nation and nation, the chance to lead our lives on a somewhat higher level, with a broader spirit of brotherly good-will one for another. Peace is generally good in itself, but it is never the highest good unless it comes as the handmaid of righteousness; and it becomes a very evil thing if it serves merely as a mask for cowardice and sloth, or as an instrument to further the ends of despotism or anarchy. We despise and abhor the bully, the brawler, the oppressor, whether in private or public life; but we despise no less the coward and the voluptuary. No man is worth calling a man who will not fight rather than submit to infamy or see those that are dear to him suffer wrong. No nation deserves to exist if it permits itself to lose the stern and virile virtues; and this without regard to whether the loss is due to the growth of a heartless and all-absorbing commercialism, to prolonged indulgence in luxury and soft effortless ease, or to the deification of a warped and twisted sentimentality.

Moreover, and above all, let us remember that words count only when they give expression to deeds or are to be translated into them. The leaders of the Red Terror prattled of peace while they steeped their hands in the blood of the innocent; and many a tyrant has called it peace when he has scourged honest protest into silence. Our words must be judged by our deeds; and in striving for a lofty ideal we must use practical methods; and if we cannot attain all at one leap, we must advance toward it step by step, reasonably content so long as

we do actually make some progress in the right direction.

Now, having freely admitted the limitations to our work, and the qualifications to be borne in mind, I feel that I have the right to have my words taken seriously when I point out where, in my judgment, great advance can be made in the cause of international peace. I speak as a practical man, and whatever I now advocate I actually tried to do when I was for the time being the head of a great nation, and keenly jealous of its honor and interest. I ask other nations to do only what I should be glad to see my own nation do.

The advance can be made along several lines. First of all, there can be treaties of arbitration. There are, of course, states so backward that a civilized community ought not to enter into an arbitration treaty with them, at least until we have gone much farther than at present in securing some kind of international police action. But all really civilized communities should have effective arbitration treaties among themselves. I believe that these treaties can cover almost all questions liable to arise between such nations, if they are drawn with the explicit agreement that each contracting party will respect the other's territory and its absolute sovereignty within that territory, and the equally explicit agreement that (aside from the very rare cases where the nation's honor is vitally concerned) all other possible subjects of controversy will be submitted to arbitration. Such a treaty would insure peace unless one party deliberately violated it. Of course, as yet there is no adequate safeguard against such deliberate violation, but the establishment of a sufficient number of these treaties would go a long way toward creating a world opinion which would finally find expression in the

provision of methods to forbid or punish any such violation.

Secondly, there is the farther development of the Hague Tribunal, of the work of the conferences and courts at The Hague. It has been well said that the first Hague Conference framed a Magna Charta for the nations; it set before us an ideal which has already to some extent been realized, and toward the full realization of which we can all steadily strive. The second Conference made further progress; the third should do yet more. Meanwhile the American Government has more than once tentatively suggested methods for completing the Court of Arbitral Justice, constituted at the second Hague Conference, and for rendering it effective. It is earnestly to be hoped that the various governments of Europe, working with those of America and of Asia, shall set themselves seriously to the task of devising some method which shall accomplish this result. If I may venture the suggestion, it would be well for the statesmen of the world in planning for the erection of this world court, to study what has been done in the United States by the Supreme Court. I cannot help thinking that the Constitution of the United States, notably in the establishment of the Supreme Court and in the methods adopted for securing peace and good relations among and between the different States, offers certain valuable analogies to what should be striven for in order to secure, through The Hague courts and conferences, a species of world federation for international peace and justice. There are, of course, fundamental differences between what the United States Constitution does and what we should even attempt at this time to secure at The Hague; but the methods adopted in the American Constitution to pre-

vent hostilities between the States, and to secure the supremacy of the Federal Court in certain classes of cases, are well worth the study of those who seek at The Hague to obtain the same results on a world scale.

In the third place, something should be done as soon as possible to check the growth of armaments, especially vital armaments, by international agreement. No one power could or should act by itself; for it is eminently undesirable, from the standpoint of the peace of righteousness, that a power which really does believe in peace should place itself at the mercy of some rival which may at bottom have no such belief and no intention of acting on it. But, granted sincerity of purpose, the great powers of the world should find no insurmountable difficulty in reaching an agreement which would put an end to the present costly and growing extravagance of expenditure on naval armaments. An agreement merely to limit the size of ships would have been very useful a few years ago, and would still be of use; but the agreement should go much further.

Finally, it would be a master stroke if those great powers honestly bent on peace would form a League of Peace, not only to keep the peace among themselves, but to prevent, by force if necessary, its being broken by others. The supreme difficulty in connection with developing the peace work of The Hague arises from the lack of any executive power, of any police power, to enforce the decrees of the court. In any community of any size the authority of the courts rests upon actual or potential force; on the existence of a police, or on the knowledge that the able-bodied men of the country are both ready and willing to see that the decrees of judicial and legislative bodies are put into effect. In new and wild communities where there is violence, an honest

man must protect himself; and until other means of securing his safety are devised, it is both foolish and wicked to persuade him to surrender his arms while the men who are dangerous to the community retain theirs. He should not renounce the right to protect himself by his own efforts until the community is so organized that it can effectively relieve the individual of the duty of putting down violence. So it is with nations. Each nation must keep well prepared to defend itself until the establishment of some form of international police power, competent and willing to prevent violence as between nations. As things are now, such power to command peace throughout the world could best be assured by some combination between those great nations which sincerely desire peace and have no thought themselves of committing aggressions. The combination might at first be only to secure peace within certain definite limits and certain definite conditions; but the ruler or statesman who should bring about such a combination would have earned his place in history for all time and his title to the gratitude of all mankind.

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THE PEACE OF RIGHTEOUSNESS *

It is one of our prime duties as a nation to seek peace. It is an even higher duty to seek righteousness. It is also our duty not to indulge in shams, not to make believe we are getting peace by some patent contrivance which sensible men ought to know cannot work in practice, and which if we sought to make it work might cause irretrievable harm. I sincerely believe in the principle of arbitration; I believe in applying that principle so far as practicable; but I believe that the effort to apply it where it is not practicable cannot do good and may do serious harm. Confused thinking and a willingness to substitute words for thought, even though inspired by an entirely amiable sentimentality, do not tend toward sound action. I think that the great majority of those persons who advocate any and every treaty which is called a treaty for peace or for arbitration would be less often drawn into a position that tends to humiliate their country if they would take the trouble to formulate clearly and definitely just what it is that they desire. Of course there are persons wholly indifferent to the national honor and interest, who, in consequence, cannot be reached by an appeal to national honor and interest; and there are other persons whose ingrained personal timidity is such that they are more afraid of war than of any dishonor, personal or national. Such persons cannot be influenced by argument. But I do not believe that they make a very numerous class,

* *The Outlook*, September 9, 1911.

and I have no question whatever that most of the men who, as I think mistakenly, advocate *all* peace and arbitration treaties, have the same standards of honor, national and individual, and the same intelligence, as their fellow countrymen who disagree with them. I believe that the trouble comes from the fact that they do not clearly formulate what it is they wish. This, therefore, is the first thing to do.

We, the American people, believe, and ought to believe, in righteousness first, and in peace as the handmaid of righteousness. We abhor brutality and wrongdoing, whether exhibited by nations or by individuals. We hold that the same law of righteousness should obtain between nation and nation as between man and man. I, for one, would rather cut off my hand than see the United States adopt the attitude either of cringing before great and powerful nations who wish to wrong us, or of bullying small and weak nations who have done us no wrong. The American people desire to do justice and to act with frank generosity toward all the other nations of mankind; but I err greatly in my judgment of my countrymen if they are willing to submit to wrong and injustice. Again and again in the past they have shown, and rightly shown, that when the choice lay between righteousness and peace they chose righteousness, just exactly as they also chose righteousness when the choice lay between righteousness and war. In 1776 Washington and his associates scorned the advice of the peace party, and went to war for the freedom of our people. In 1861 Abraham Lincoln and his associates scorned the advice and importunity of the peace people, heedless whether these peace people gave the advice they did give because of timidity or because of a twisted sentimentality. They plunged this country into the

most terrible struggle the world had seen since the close of the Napoleonic wars; and thereby they perpetuated the Union and abolished slavery and rendered inestimable services to mankind. In 1898 this country disregarded the cries of the peace people and of those who responded to the throb of the money nerve, and warred with Spain. During the immediately preceding years of international peace, over a million lives of men, women, and children had been sacrificed in Cuba, because here at home the peace people had their way and America did not interfere. Then America did interfere, and, at the cost of considerably less than three thousand lives, all told, permanently stopped the dreadful system of destruction which was gradually reducing Cuba to the level of Hayti. If we had not interfered, probably at least a couple of million more lives would have been lost while good persons prattled of peace and arbitration. By the loss of each thousand lives we averted a million deaths; and the lives lost were all of men, and the deaths averted would have been largely those of women and children. As in 1776 and 1861, so in 1898 we put righteousness above peace; and therefore we obtained both, while if we had shirked our duty we should ultimately have lost both. Cuba and Porto Rico and Panama have enjoyed peace and prosperity, the Panama Canal is being dug, and the Philippines are progressing as never before, because in 1898 we refused to listen to the timid and short-sighted apostles of ease and of slothful avoidance of duty, and dared to play the part of the just man armed.

The proposed treaties with Great Britain and France are avowedly entered into as models to be followed in making similar treaties with all other nations, and what I have to say is said, not with reference to England or

France, but with reference to the proposal of having treaties like these with all nations. We already have two sets of arbitration treaties: one the convention between the United States and almost all other civilized powers for the pacific settlement of international disputes, and the other the arbitration conventions between the United States and Great Britain, France, and various other nations. The latter are not important, but they are better than the proposed treaties would be if unamended, because, though they promise but little, they make no false pretenses, and they specifically announce that we will not arbitrate questions affecting our vital interest or independence or honor. The former is an excellent treaty, and it is a curious commentary upon the ignorance of the professional peace advocates that they actually do not know that this general international peace convention, which was proclaimed by the President on February 28, 1910, is far more effective for preserving peace than the proposed treaties would be even if they were ratified. For example, in this convention the contracting parties, including England, the United States, Germany, Japan, France, and Russia, solemnly agree to do all they can to insure the pacific settlement of all international difficulties, agree to have recourse to the mediation of friendly powers in case of disagreement or dispute before an appeal to arms, and, moreover, what is more important, agree that one or more powers, strangers to the dispute, shall, on their own initiative, have the right, before or during the dispute, before war or during war, to offer their good offices for mediation, and that the exercise of this right can never be regarded by either party as an unfriendly act. They agree to adopt international commissions of inquiry in disputes of an international na-

ture, and they explicitly recognize arbitration as the proper method of settling them where diplomacy has failed, and they maintain the permanent court of arbitration for this purpose at The Hague.

The proposed arbitration treaty is defective, in the first place, because it is not straightforward. It sets forth that all "justiciable" matters shall be arbitrated. The language both of the opponents and the defenders of the treaty shows that even among our own people, and before a cause for applying the treaty has arisen, there is hopeless confusion as to what "justiciable" means. Such being the case, it can be imagined how useless would be the effort to define "justiciable" when a serious conflict had actually arisen, and blood was up and passion high. The wording of the treaty is so loose, it so lacks explicitness, as to allow one set of its advocates to announce that it binds us to arbitrate everything, and another set to say that under it we would not have to arbitrate anything we did not wish to. Now, no moral movement is permanently helped by hypocrisy. Does the proposal in the treaties, if entered into with various nations, bind us to arbitrate the Monroe Doctrine, the Platt Amendment with Cuba, the payment of State bonds to European bondholders, the question whether various European countries are entitled to the same concessions that Canada is to receive under the reciprocity agreement, the right of other foreign nations to interfere in Panama, our own right to exclude any immigrants whom we choose to exclude? If these questions arose, I am sure our representatives would, privately or publicly, inform foreign powers (and indeed would have to inform foreign powers) that the American people would never abide by an agreement to arbitrate them; in which case the only proper

course to follow is that followed by the Senate Committee, and to say in honest fashion that there are certain questions which this nation will not arbitrate at the dictation of an outside body. Critics of the Senate in this matter talk as if it had "usurped" a "right"; in reality the Senate has merely performed a duty. Most men of knowledge, who are willing to think, know perfectly well that this country would not, as a matter of fact, keep an agreement to arbitrate all questions of vital honor and interest, even though it were so unwise as to make it; and it is a wicked thing to put us in the position of promising what will not, and cannot, be performed. In such a matter the indulgence of false pretense in the present would with absolute certainty be followed by the breaking of faith in the future. Of course, passing the treaty in the proposed form would not be as bad as leaving the Canal unfortified, and refusing to keep up the navy—the public servants who have gone wrong in these respects have shown themselves both unfit and unfaithful public servants—but it would be a very bad thing to do, it would be discreditable to this country, and it would be an obstacle in the path of peace. *General* arbitration treaties under the best circumstances can only be promises; they appeal especially to sentimentalists, who are never safe advisers, and their importance is usually exaggerated to a ludicrous degree; the really important thing is the practical application of the principle to *specific* instances. The successful application of the principle of arbitration to the controversy between ourselves and Great Britain, settled at The Hague in the summer of 1910, was of high consequence; and Mr. Root, our special representative, rendered a real and great service to the country by what he then advised before The Hague

court, at the cost of many weary, arduous months. This disinterested, unpaid, and most laborious and important service, the peace advocates, and our people generally, never properly understood or appreciated, and they never felt properly grateful to the man who rendered it. Such work, which represents the reduction of theory to practice, is more important than the negotiation of any general arbitration treaty, which must always and of necessity represent merely the public announcement of a theory which it is hoped can be reduced to practice. Even a general arbitration treaty, however, can do real good, if so framed as to be workable, so that it shall not attempt too much, and may actually accomplish what is attempted. But a general arbitration treaty like the one now proposed, avowedly designed as a model to be followed by similar treaties with all nations, which is so loosely drawn that it seems to promise everything, and may or may not mean anything, will either be entirely ineffectual or else can only work mischief.

The fatally objectionable feature of the proposed treaty is the clause providing that the Joint High Commission, which may be composed exclusively of "nationals" of the two countries, but which also may be composed exclusively of foreigners, may, by unanimous vote, or by a vote of all but one of its members, determine that any given question whatever must be arbitrated. It is difficult to characterize this provision truthfully without seeming to be offensive. Merely to speak of it as silly comes far short of saying what should be said. It is arguable that in certain cases either of the two component parts of the treaty-making power, the President or the Senate, should delegate to the other, for certain purposes, the power of exclusive ac-

tion. But no sound argument can be made for permitting both the President and the Senate to delegate to outsiders, possibly to foreigners, the exercise of a fundamental and vital power. The details of carrying into effect a great and far-reaching policy can appropriately be delegated; but the elected servants of the people betray the interest of the people if they shirk the duty of themselves deciding what that policy shall be. It would be quite proper to delegate to the Joint High Commission many subordinate functions; but the high, the supreme function of deciding whether a question is of such vital importance to the country that it is or is not arbitrable, cannot with propriety be delegated to any outsider by either the President or the Senate. They are elected to perform exactly the vital duties implied in such decisions. If a President, after consulting with his constitutional advisers, the Senate, could not make up his own mind about such a vital question, and had to have it made up for him by outsiders—possibly foreigners, and certainly not responsible to the people—it would be proof positive that he was not fit to hold the exalted position to which he had been elected. A President unfit to make such a decision himself, and willing to have somebody else make it for him, would also be unfit to perform any of the really important duties of the presidency.

The majority of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, through Senator Lodge, has submitted an excellent report on the proposed treaty, recommending that the objectionable clause be stricken out. This report contends, as I believe justly, that to ratify the treaties in their present shape would tend to breed disputes which might readily bring about war, because it would encourage foreign nations to open questions

which, when we were actually faced with them, we neither could nor would arbitrate. For instance, if a great military power attempted, directly or indirectly, to get possession of such a strategic position as St. Thomas on the Atlantic side of our ocean frontier, or of Magdalena Bay on the Pacific side, this nation, if alive to its vital interests, would instantly forbid the transaction. Yet this is the exact kind of question which an arbitral court, having regard only for what may be construed as "justiciable," might very probably decide against us; and the ratification of the treaties in their proposed form—indeed, the mere fact that they have been seriously considered—might invite foreign powers to open just such questions.

The majority of the committee have expressed their views through the report submitted by Senator Lodge, which it is earnestly to be hoped that the Senate will adopt. It would also be an excellent thing for the Senate to adopt, in addition, and not as a substitute, the resolution presented by Senator Root on behalf of the minority of the committee. This minority report is seemingly designed with the idea of showing more apparent favor to the treaty than is shown by the majority of the committee; but in actual fact it would be impossible to devise a more striking condemnation of the treaty in its proposed form than that thus furnished by the men who are painfully anxious to go to the utmost limit in its support that their consciences will permit. Mr. Root, in his "views of a minority," says: "There are some questions of national policy and conduct which no nation can submit to the decision of any one else, just as there are some questions of personal conduct which every man must decide for himself." Exactly! This is a wholesome truth stated in straight-

forward and manly fashion. Unfortunately, it is a truth which the proposed treaty does not recognize. In the endeavor to seem to avoid amending the treaty, and yet not to permit its unamended passage in such shape as to threaten humiliation and disaster to our people, the able New York senator has hit upon the device of construing it—in a sense directly opposite to its obvious meaning—by a clause in the resolution of consent to the ratification stating "that the treaty does not authorize the submission to arbitration of any question which depends upon or involves the maintenance of the traditional attitude of the United States concerning American questions or other purely governmental policy." This is admirable; it precisely inverts the position taken in the proposed treaty; and if adopted, in addition to the amendment proposed by Senator Lodge on behalf of the majority of the committee, it would leave the treaty in a form compatible with the preservation of our national self-respect.

We, the people of the United States, cannot and will not surrender to outsiders the power to determine whether or not we are fit to decide for ourselves what are our vital needs, and what are the policies proper for meeting these needs. In other words, Uncle Sam does not intend to wrong any one, but neither does he intend to bind himself, if his pocket is picked, his house burglarized, or his face slapped, to "arbitrate" with the wrong-doer; and as long as he does not intend so to bind himself, it would be offensive hypocrisy for him to say that he will so bind himself.

The resolutions proposed by Senator Root and by Senator Lodge are in reality equally strong in their repudiation of that indefensible clause of the proposed treaty which would bind the nation to arbitrate all

questions, even though to do so would be ruinous to our interests, if an outside body decides that they are arbitrable. Senator Lodge's proposal is to strike out the mischievous clause. Senator Root leaves it in, but provides by resolution that we are not to be bound by it; and, moreover, excludes from the operation of the treaty "all purely governmental policies," which, quite properly, leaves the clause meaningless and ineffective, as "governmental policies" may include anything and everything, and we are left to be the judges as to what they are. Mr. Lodge's amendment is perhaps a trifle franker, but Mr. Root's is in some ways even more effective, and both should be adopted.

It is our duty, *so far as is now possible*, so far as human nature in the present-day world will permit, to try to provide peaceful substitutes for war as a method for the settlement of international disputes. But progress in this direction is merely hindered by the folly that believes in putting peace above righteousness; while it is of course even worse to pretend so to believe. The greatest service this nation can render to righteousness is to behave with scrupulous justice to other nations, and yet to keep ready to hold its own if necessary. Our chief usefulness to humanity rests on our combining power with high purpose. Power undirected by high purpose spells calamity; and high purpose by itself is utterly useless if the power to put it into effect is lacking. In the history of our country the peace advocates who treat peace as more than righteousness will never be, and never have been, of service, either to it or to mankind. The true lovers of peace, the men who have really helped onward the movement for peace, have been those who followed, even though afar off, in the footsteps of Washington and Lincoln, and stood for

righteousness as the supreme end of national life. Only by acting on these principles, only by following in the footsteps of these great Americans of the past, can we of the present generation effectively work for and secure the peace of righteousness.

XII

EDUCATION

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THE FUNCTIONS OF A GREAT UNIVERSITY *

A GREAT university like this has two especial functions. The first is to produce a small number of scholars of the highest rank, a small number of men who, in science and literature, or in art, will do productive work of the first class. The second is to send out into the world a very large number of men who never could achieve, and who ought not to try to achieve, such a position in the field of scholarship, but whose energies are to be felt in every other form of activity; and who should go out from our doors with the balanced development of body, of mind, and above all of character, which shall fit them to do work both honorable and efficient.

Much of the effort to accomplish the first function, that of developing men capable of productive scholarship, as distinguished from merely imitative, annotative, or pedagogic scholarship, must come through the graduate school. The law school and medical school do admirable work in fitting men for special professions, but they in no shape or way supply any shortcomings in the graduate school any more than does the college proper, the college of the undergraduates. The ideal for the graduate school and for those undergraduates who are to go into it must be the ideal of high scholarly production, which is to be distinguished in the sharpest fashion from the mere transmittal of ready-made knowl-

* Address at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., June 28, 1905.

edge without adding to it. If America is to contribute its full share to the progress not alone of knowledge, but of wisdom, then we must put ever-increasing emphasis on university work done along the lines of the graduate school. We can best help the growth of American scholarship by seeing that as a career it is put more on a level with the other careers open to our young men. The general opinion of the community is bound to have a very great effect even upon its most vigorous and independent minds. If in the public mind the career of the scholar is regarded as of insignificant value when compared with that of a glorified pawnbroker, then it will with difficulty be made attractive to the most vigorous and gifted of our American young men. Good teachers, excellent institutions, and libraries are all demanded in a graduate school worthy of the name. But there is an even more urgent demand for the right sort of student. No first-class science, no first-class literature or art, can ever be built up with second-class men. The scholarly career, the career of the man of letters, the man of arts, the man of science, must be made such as to attract those strong and virile youths who now feel that they can only turn to business, law, or politics. There is no one thing which will bring about this desired change, but there is one thing which will materially help in bringing it about, and that is to secure to scholars the chance of getting one of a few brilliant positions as prizes if they rise to the first rank in their chosen career. Every such brilliant position should have as an accompaniment an added salary, which shall help indicate how high the position really is; and it must be the efforts of the alumni which can alone secure such salaries for such positions.

As a people I think we are waking up to the fact that

there must be better pay for the average man and average woman engaged in the work of education. But I am not speaking of this now; I am not speaking of the desirability, great though that is, of giving better payment to the average educator, I am speaking of the desirability of giving to the exceptional man the chance of winning an exceptional prize, just as he has the chance to do in law and business. In business at the present day nothing could be more healthy than an immense reduction in the money value of the exceptional prizes thus to be won; but in scholarship what is needed is the reverse. In this country we rightly go upon the theory that it is more important to care for the welfare of the average man than to put a premium upon the exertions of the exceptional. But we must not forget that the establishment of such a premium for the exceptional, though of less importance, is nevertheless of very great importance. It is important even to the development of the average man, for the average of all of us is raised by the work of the great masters.

It is, I trust, unnecessary to say that I appreciate to the full the fact that the highest work of all will never be affected one way or the other by any question of compensation. And much of the work which is really best for the nation must from the very nature of things be non-remunerative as compared with the work of the ordinary industries and vocations. Nor would it ever be possible or desirable that the rewards of transcendent success in scholarship should even approximate, from a monetary standpoint, the rewards in other vocations. But it is also true that the effect upon ambitious minds cannot but be bad if as a people we show our very slight regard for scholarly achievement by making no provision at all for its reward. The chief use of the

increased money value of the scholar's prize would be the index thereby afforded of the respect in which it was popularly held. The American scientist, the American scholar, should have the chance at least of winning such prizes as are open to his successful brother in Germany, England, or France, where the rewards paid for first-class scholarly achievement are as much above those paid in this country as our rewards for first-class achievement in industry or law are above those paid abroad.

But of course what counts infinitely more than any possible outside reward is the spirit of the worker himself. The prime need is to instil into the minds of the scholars themselves a true appreciation of real as distinguished from sham success. In productive scholarship, in the scholarship which adds by its work to the sum of substantial achievement with which the country is to be credited, it is only first-class work that counts. In this field the smallest amount of really first-class work is worth all the second-class work that can possibly be produced; and to have done such work is in itself the fullest and amplest reward to the man producing it. We outsiders should according to our ability aid him in every way to produce it. Yet all that we can do is but little compared to what he himself can and must do. The spirit of the scholar is the vital factor in the productive scholarship of the country.

So much for the first function of the university, the sending forth of a small number of scholars of the highest rank who will do productive work of the first class. Now turn to the second, and what may be called the normal function of the college, the function of turning out each year many hundreds of men who shall possess the trained intelligence, and especially the char-

acter, that will enable them to hold high the renown of this ancient seat of learning by doing useful service for the nation. It is not my purpose to discuss at length what should be done in Harvard to produce the right spirit among the men who go out of Harvard, but rather to speak of what this spirit should be. Nor shall I speak of the exceptions, the men to whom college life is a disadvantage. Randolph of Roanoke, he of the biting tongue, once remarked of an opponent that he reminded him of certain tracts of land "which were almost worthless by nature, and became entirely so by cultivation." Of course, if, in any individual, university training produces a taste for refined idleness, a distaste for sustained effort, a barren intellectual arrogance, or a sense of supercilious aloofness from the world of real men who do the world's real work, then it has harmed that individual; but in such case there remains the abiding comfort that he would not have amounted to much anyway. Neither a college training nor anything else can do much good to the man of weak fibre or to the man with a twist in his moral or intellectual make-up. But the average undergraduate has enough robustness of nature, enough capacity for enthusiasm and aspiration, to make it worth while to turn to account the stuff that is in him.

There are, however, two points in the undergraduate life of Harvard about which I think we have a right to feel some little concern. One is the growth of luxury in the university. I do not know whether anything we can say will have much effect on this point, but just so far as the alumni have weight I hope to see that weight felt in serious and sustained effort against the growing tendency to luxury, and in favor of all that makes for democratic conditions. One of our number, the one

whom I think the rest of us most delight to honor—Colonel Higginson—has given to our alma mater the Harvard Union, than which no better gift, no gift meeting a more vital need, could have been given to the university. It is neither possible nor desirable to try to take away all social differences from the student life; but it is a good thing to show how unimportant these differences are compared to the differences of real achievement, and compared also to the bonds which should unite together all the men who are in any degree capable of such real achievement; bonds, moreover, which should also knit these capable men to their brethren who need their help.

The second point upon which I wish to speak is the matter of sport. Now I shall not be suspected of a tendency unduly to minimize the importance of sport. I believe heartily in sport. I believe in outdoor games, and I do not mind in the least that they are rough games, or that those who take part in them are occasionally injured. I have no sympathy whatever with the overwrought sentimentality which would keep a young man in cotton-wool, and I have a hearty contempt for him if he counts a broken arm or collar-bone as of serious consequence when balanced against the chance of showing that he possesses hardihood, physical address, and courage. But when these injuries are inflicted by others, either wantonly or of set design, we are confronted by the question, not of damage to one man's body, but of damage to the other man's character. Brutality in playing a game should awaken the heartiest and most plainly shown contempt for the player guilty of it; especially if this brutality is coupled with a low cunning in committing it without getting caught by the umpire. I hope to see both graduate and

undergraduate opinion come to scorn such a man as one guilty of base and dishonorable action, who has no place in the regard of gallant and upright men.

It is a bad thing for any college man to grow to regard sport as the serious business of life. It is a bad thing to permit sensationalism and hysteria to shape the development of our sports. And finally it is a much worse thing to permit college sport to become in any shape or way tainted by professionalism, or by so much as the slightest suspicion of money-making; and this is especially true if the professionalism is furtive, if the boy or man violates the spirit of the rule while striving to keep within the letter. Professional sport is all right in its way. I am glad to say that among my friends I number professional boxers and wrestlers, oarsmen and baseball men, whose regard I value, and whom in turn I regard as thoroughly good citizens. But the college undergraduate who, in furtive fashion, becomes a semiprofessional is an unmitigated curse, and that not alone to university life and to the cause of amateur sport; for the college graduate ought in after-years to take the lead in putting the business morality of this country on a proper plane, and he cannot do it if in his own college career his code of conduct has been warped and twisted. Moreover, the spirit which puts so excessive a value upon his work as to produce this semiprofessional is itself unhealthy. I wish to see Harvard win a reasonable proportion of the contests in which it enters, and I should be heartily ashamed of every Harvard athlete who did not spend every ounce there was in him in the effort to win, provided only he does it in honorable and manly fashion. But I think our effort should be to minimize rather than to increase that kind of love of athletics which manifests itself, not in joining

in the athletic sports, but in crowding by tens of thousands to see other people indulge in them. It is a far better thing for our colleges to have the average student interested in some form of athletics than to have them all gather in a mass to see other people do their athletics for them.

So much for the undergraduates. Now for the alumni, the men who are at work out in the great world. Of course the man's first duty is to himself and to those immediately dependent upon him. Unless he can pull his own weight he must be content to remain a passenger all his life. But we have a right to expect that the men who come out of Harvard will do something more than merely pull their own weight. We have a right to expect that they will count as positive forces for the betterment of their fellow countrymen; and they can thus count only if they combine the power of devotion to a lofty ideal with practical common sense in striving to realize this ideal.

This nation never stood in greater need than now of having among its leaders men of lofty ideals, which they try to live up to and not merely to talk of. We need men with these ideals in public life, and we need them just as much in business and in such a profession as the law. We can by statute establish only those exceedingly rough lines of morality the overpassing of which means that the man is in jeopardy of the constable or the sheriff. But the nation is badly off if in addition to this there is not a very much higher standard of conduct, a standard impossible effectively to establish by statute, but one upon which the community as a whole, and especially the real leaders of the community, insist. Take such a question as the enforcement of the law. It is, of course, elementary to say that this is the

first requisite in any civilization at all. But a great many people in the ranks of life from which most college men are drawn seem to forget that they should condemn with equal severity those men who break the law by committing crimes of mob violence and those who evade the law, or who actually break it, but so cunningly that they cannot be discovered, the crimes they commit being not those of physical outrage, but those of greed and craft on the largest scale. The very rich man who conducts his business as if he believed that he were a law unto himself thereby immensely increases the difficulty of the task of upholding order when the disorder is a menace to men of property; for if the community feels that rich men disregard the law where it affects themselves, then the community is apt to assume the dangerous and unwholesome attitude of condoning crimes of violence committed against the interests which in the popular mind these rich men represent. This last attitude is wholly evil; but so is the attitude which produces it. We have a right to appeal to the alumni of Harvard, and to the alumni of every institution of learning in this land, to do their part in creating a public sentiment which shall demand of all men of means, and especially of the men of vast fortune, that they set an example to their less fortunate brethren, by paying scrupulous heed not only to the letter but to the spirit of the laws, and by acknowledging in the heartiest fashion the moral obligations which cannot be expressed in law, but which stand back of and above all laws. It is far more important that they should conduct their business affairs decently than that they should spend the surplus of their fortunes in philanthropy. Much has been given to these men and we have the right to demand much of them in return.

Every man of great wealth who runs his business with cynical contempt for those prohibitions of the law which by hired cunning he can escape or evade is a menace to our community; and the community is not to be excused if it does not develop a spirit which actively frowns on and discountenances him. The great profession of the law should be that profession whose members ought to take the lead in the creation of just such a spirit. We all know that, as things actually are, many of the most influential and most highly remunerated members of the bar in every centre of wealth make it their special task to work out bold and ingenious schemes by which their very wealthy clients, individual or corporate, can evade the laws which are made to regulate in the interest of the public the use of great wealth. Now, the great lawyer who employs his talent and his learning in the highly remunerative task of enabling a very wealthy client to override or circumvent the law is doing all that in him lies to encourage the growth in this country of a spirit of dumb anger against all laws and of disbelief in their efficacy. Such a spirit may breed the demand that laws shall be made even more drastic against the rich, or else it may manifest itself in hostility to all laws. Surely Harvard has the right to expect from her sons a high standard of applied morality, whether their paths lead them into public life, into business, or into the great profession of the law, whose members are so potent in shaping the growth of the national soul.

But in addition to having high ideals it cannot too often be said to a body such as is gathered here to-day, that together with devotion to what is right must go practical efficiency in striving for what is right. This is a rough, workaday, practical world, and if in it we

are to do the work best worth doing, we must approach that work in a spirit remote from that of the mere visionary, and above all remote from that of the visionary whose aspirations after good find expression only in the shape of scolding and complaining. It shall not help us if we avoid the Scylla of baseness of motive, only to be wrecked on the Charybdis of wrong-headedness, of feebleness and inefficiency. There can be nothing worse for the community than to have the men who profess lofty ideals show themselves so foolish, so narrow, so impracticable, as to cut themselves off from communion with the men who are actually able to do the work of governing, the work of business, the work of the professions. It is a sad and evil thing if the men with a moral sense group themselves as impractical zealots, while the men of action gradually grow to discard and laugh at all moral sense as an evidence of impractical weakness. Macaulay, whose eminently sane and wholesome spirit revolted not only at weakness, but at the censorious folly which masquerades as virtue, describes the condition of Scotland at the end of the seventeenth century in a passage which every sincere reformer should keep constantly before him.

"It is a remarkable circumstance that the same country should have produced in the same age the most wonderful specimens of both extremes of human nature. Even in things indifferent the Scotch Puritan would hear of no compromise; and he was but too ready to consider all who recommended prudence and charity as traitors to the cause of truth. On the other hand, the Scotchmen of that generation who made a figure in Parliament were the most dishonest and unblushing time-servers that the world has ever seen. Perhaps it is natural that the most callous and impudent vice

should be found in the near neighborhood of unreasonable and impracticable virtue. Where enthusiasts are ready to destroy or be destroyed for trifles magnified into importance by a squeamish conscience, it is not strange that the very name of conscience should become a byword of contempt to cool and shrewd men of business."

The men who go out from Harvard into the great world of American life bear a heavy burden of responsibility. The only way they can show their gratitude to their alma mater is by doing their full duty to the nation as a whole; and they can do this full duty only if they combine the high resolve to work for what is best and most ennobling with the no less resolute purpose to do their work in such fashion that when the end of their days comes they shall feel that they have actually achieved results and not merely talked of achieving them.

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AMERICAN IDEALS IN EDUCATION *

THERE are a great many professions that are important, but of all the professions in the United States I think that there is no one quite so important to the country as a whole as is yours. There is no other profession which exercises so profound an influence upon the national growth, for you shape the whole course of the development of the nation of to-morrow. Every other profession deals with a part of the action of the nation to-day. You deal practically with all of the action of the nation of the future. There can be no more honorable profession. I know well that there is no other profession that is at times more wearing than that which you follow. For good or for evil, the effect of what you do is literally tremendous in its far-reaching importance. Much of your influence is exercised, necessarily, in ways of which you are entirely unconscious, in ways of which those influenced are only partly conscious. I have been struck to find out how often the child will not realize until he is grown how great the influence has been of some good teacher upon him at some critical period of his life.

It is not only a question of the effect that you have in the lessons you teach in the classroom. What I may call the by-products of your work are often, at least, as important. In the city of New York, where I am,

* Address before the Iowa State Teachers' Association, Des Moines, Iowa, November 4, 1910.

I regard the public school as being the all-important factor of good citizenship, especially for the children of the immigrants. Nothing, to my mind, is more significant than to go, as I have gone, to our East Side schools, and see several hundred children, not one of whom has had parents born on this side of the ocean, singing "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," and feeling the most intense enthusiasm, not only for the land in which they live, but for the men who, although not their forefathers by birth, are really their forefathers in the spirit, and who have become thus, thanks to the teaching they have received in the public schools.

I doubt if there is anything that has reflected more credit upon the civilization of the American Republic in the past than our common-school system, and, my friends, that is just one of its dangers. The minute that people become too satisfied with what has been done by them in the past, they are in great danger of coming short in the present and in the future. And the fact that the schools have done so well compared with the schools of foreign countries in the past, is, I think, one reason why we have been less alert than certain other nations. I should be inclined, curiously enough, to put both Germany and Japan among those foreign nations. We have been less alert than certain foreign nations in reshaping our educational facilities to meet the needs of the present day. I need not say to a group of teachers that as soon as any man has ceased to be able to learn, his usefulness as a teacher is at an end. When he himself can't learn, he has reached the stage where other people can't learn from him. Unless we now take careful thought of the educational needs of the country at the present day, unless we recognize certain evils that have grown up in connection with our social system

(but perhaps primarily in connection with our educational system), much of the value to the community of our educational system will disappear.

There are at least three different sides to the work that you do and to what boys and girls learn from you. There is, first of all, the knowledge for its own sake entirely. Without regard to what practical use in the later career knowledge can be put to, it has a real value for its own sake; and I think that we who pride ourselves upon being so practical a people must keep sharp watch on ourselves that we do not minimize that advantage. Wholly without regard to whether a man has to use what he has gained in school in his later profession, it is of immense value to him and greatly increases his value to those with whom he is thrown into intimate contact, if he has had such an education. Of course different people need totally different amounts of education.

To my mind, infinitely the most important part of education is the primary part. The part of education with which I am most concerned, and with which all people should be most concerned, is that education which is all that ninety per cent of the American people need or should get. I want to admit that in the fullest and frankest way, and indeed to insist upon it: and yet to insist also, as a corollary, upon the fact that it is an advantage for all the ninety per cent to have the remaining ten per cent get a much higher education—to get much farther along in the mere scholastic training; and perhaps one per cent to go very far indeed. And of course the higher up you go, the greater becomes the value of the education merely in and by itself, without regard to the use to which it can be put. The cultivated man, the cultivated woman, have because of their

cultivation gained a great advantage in life, provided always that that advantage has not been gained by the sacrifice of something still more important.

We often see sneering allusions to men who have received a college education. If the man is of such a character that he regards the college education as all-sufficient in itself, then I quite agree that he is far better off without one. But if he has the right stuff in him, if he regards the college education as supplying him with qualities which are invaluable additions to the other qualities that he has, then its good effects can hardly be overestimated. I want to lay particular stress upon that, because I have not the smallest sympathy with the people who insist upon regarding education as of no value whatever unless it has an important practical result. Besides that value, it has the very great value of the mere cultivation that it gives, of the broader outlook upon life, of the infinitely greater capacity for real enjoyment with which it endows the man or woman fortunate enough to receive it; of the infinitely greater capacity it gives to that man or woman to add to the enjoyment of those with whom he or she is thrown in contact, and especially in intimate contact, later on. To say that such an education can be too dearly purchased is merely to say what is true of almost every quality that can be acquired. If cultivation, refinement, love of reading, love of art, love of beauty, broad appreciation of what is going on in the great world roundabout, if all of those qualities, invaluable though they are in themselves, are purchased at the cost of the loss of the power of the man, at the cost of the loss of the sense of duty of the woman, of course the price paid is too dear. But there is not the slightest need of any such price being paid. The very

best mothers I have ever met were mothers who did all the practical work of the household all the better because they had trained intellects, because they were in the widest and best sense cultivated and well-read women. And when I see it said that learning has spoiled a woman for being a mother, I doubt whether there is much there to spoil. In other words, I feel that the danger to the man and the woman in education is substantially the same. You remember that John Randolph—he of the bitter tongue—in Congress a century ago, when much irritated by an antagonist, finally turned and said: "The gentleman, sir, reminds me of the land between the Rappahannock and the James, which is almost worthless by nature, and becomes totally so by cultivation." Of course there are men and women who will be completely spoiled by cultivation, but I don't think that they are of very much worth to start with; and I do think, emphatically, that the woman has exactly the right to the highest education that the man has. I don't make any distinction between the two.

Now, so much for that side of education. The second side is the training for life-work. I think I have dwelt long enough upon the value of education in and for itself to prevent your mistaking me and thinking that I fail to lay full stress upon that side. But I wish to dwell with even more emphasis upon the fact that our schools should train the boys toward and not away from the farm and the shop; and that they should train the girls so that they will be better and not worse housewives because they have been to school. Moreover, I should like to say to those interested in the higher education that they ought to see that that side of education is carefully attended to in college, in university, in

high school; because it is a bad thing to create the impression that such industrial training (to use it in its broadest significance) is only to characterize the lower grades of scholastic work. If that is done, you naturally tend to make people think that the work itself is lower. And I would like to see matters arranged so that every college boy would have to be taught some physical trade—some trade with his hands—some manual trade; and that no college girl should be allowed to get a diploma in anything unless she also got it in housewifery. So that what I say does not refer only to the lower grades in the schools; I would like to have it put all through; but of course in the lower grades it is an absolute essential.

I suppose that we are all now practically a unit in having our faces set against those tendencies of the education of the last eighty years which make up part (not by any means all—our whole social structure is responsible for a great part of it) of the reason why so many mechanics, high-grade mechanics, think that their children rise in the world if they are trained so as to become inferior clerks. Now, I had a curious experience in connection with this while I was President and we were trying to enlist sailors. I think it was in Boston, although it may have been in New York. There were multitudes of applications for enlistment from young men who simply did not have the physique to make it worth while taking them into the navy; there were so many of these applications that we finally began to look into the matter; and in a lamentably large number of cases we found that these boys were sons of blacksmiths, of carpenters, of mechanics, of working men. Those fathers and mothers had unfortunately thought that they would make their boys rise

in the world by training them only for a clerical career, and so had turned them out to make their way with simply very ordinary fitness in a very crowded profession, where the lower grades were filled already to overflowing with poorly paid people; and the boys after two or three years were tempted to give up in despair the only occupation for which they had been trained. They did not have the manual skill to take up their fathers' vocations, and came down in numbers to endeavor to enlist in the navy, only to find that for that also they had been unfitted by the very education that was supposed to lift them up.

The schools can do something to remedy that evil, but of course there must necessarily be a complete change in the attitude society takes toward manual labor. Personally I am quite unable to understand how any man could fail to have the very heartiest respect and admiration for the people who stand at the head of the higher occupations, where men work chiefly with their hands; that is, where they work with their hands and heads also. I remember as a small boy feeling that the man who drove an engine was about the biggest man that I ever came across; and I want it distinctly understood that I have kept that feeling till now; and I hope that society will more and more grow to prize the skilful performance of manual labor, and to realize that we never can get a really fine society where manual labor—so long as there is a display of headwork also—is not regarded as distinctly one of the most honorable professions.

Some one has said that the permanent gift of the Middle Ages to us was the gift of their great cathedrals, which have been the only architectural contributions to the world's progress in the last thousand years which in

any way compare with the extraordinary architectural contributions of the civilization that flourished, and most of which died, before Christianity came into the world; and those great cathedrals were built, not by architects in our sense of the word, but by master builders—master workmen—men whose names are unknown; but men who belonged to a profession in which they took much pride and in which they were so skilled that they were enabled to render this absolutely incalculable service to future time. That, of course, could not have been done except in a society which frankly regarded such work as of the most honorable character. Beyond question at that time the master builders looked down with entirely haughty and unaffected scorn upon the person who could merely read and write. His scorn was not justified, but the inverse feeling of the person who can merely read and write nowadays for the individual who lives by the work of his hands is just as little justified. We have gone so far in the other direction that our attitude now is at least as damaging to society as the utter ignoring of the man of scholastic education in the Middle Ages. The pendulum has swung too far away, and it will have to swing back in order to make our national life socially rounded out, fully developed on all sides, as it should be.

Therefore I feel most strongly that there should be a tremendous development of industrial training—mechanical training in the cities, agricultural training in the country. I am not going to discuss the question of the country schools. I feel strongly that the school with less than ten pupils in the country districts has ceased to be a real benefit, and that what we must try to do is to build up schools which, together with a broad basis of the kind of education that is general, and that fits

the boy and girl for life generally, shall also tend steadily to train them to be contented with and get the best out of the farms on which most of them should live; and that the training should above all things not be of such a character as to make the boy and girl feel that for them to go away from the farm to the city means a rise. It is a lamentable thing when our education produces such an effect upon the boy and the girl in the country districts. More than that, I think that the country school should be made a social centre. I think that the time has come when our people must consider very seriously the question of trying to help the men of the country districts in building up their country life so as to make it not only equally attractive with city life, but equally full of opportunity. It can certainly be done, and while it must be done primarily by the farmers themselves—by the men who live in the open country, yet they must be stimulated to feel the need of doing it, and it is our duty to help them in every way in the effort to do it.

I am certain that no small part of Germany's extraordinary commercial success is due to the character of the German schools. I don't mean to say for a moment that I would imitate blindly the whole German school system. I think there is only one thing more foolish than blind imitation of something that has done well abroad, and that is the narrow spirit that refuses to adopt anything just because it comes from abroad. The prime necessity in training any boy is to train him so that he can make and keep a home. The chief element in the average profession should be that of being a successful husband and father, and the prime necessity with the girl is to train her so that she can do well in her own home. I need hardly say that with boy or girl, any

training for life that leaves out of consideration the fact that the life is a failure, unless it is led primarily with a view to making and keeping a home, is itself a thoroughly vicious and faulty system. And that, again, is something which not merely school-teachers, but all our people will have to more and more keep in mind. If you turn out girls who, because they have been to school, are less fitted to do work in their own homes, you can be sure that there is something very wrong in the schools. There is no need whatever for it, as I have said. In every walk of life, everywhere where I have known people intimately, the very best housewives and best mothers that I have ever met have been those who have had the mental training, so that there is not the slightest necessary connection between the mental training and the inability to do practical work on the part of the girl in the home, on the part of the man on the farm, in the shop, in any of the occupations of life; and it is for you who have to do the practical work of the schools yourselves to see what the trouble is wherever it exists and apply the remedy.

And now, friends, comes the third division of my subject and the one with which I am much better fitted to deal as an expert. So far I have spoken only of the purely scholastic side of training, or of the side that is practical in the sense of training the boy and girl to do the mechanical part of his or her life-work. The President in introducing me said that I would speak upon "American Ideals." The third part of what you have to teach consists in the influence, direct and indirect, that you have upon the children under you in making them good citizens, in making them such men and women that in the future our country will go up and not down.

We are engaged in the very greatest, the most glorious and the most difficult experiment ever attempted by men and women on this earth. This is the first time that a serious and successful effort has been made to apply popular rule to a gigantic nation of the first class. So far we have been infinitely more successful than any republic that has ever hitherto existed. Long before the Roman Republic had reached anything like our wealth and extent of territory and power and population it had become not only hopelessly corrupt, but hopelessly unable to govern itself. And the Roman Republic is practically the only republic that has ever existed for a considerable length of time on a large scale. Every other republic that has ever existed has been small in extent of territory and in population; and even though small (I am going to make an exception for a very few primitive republics), if it attained wealth and power, it always fell, primarily because it changed into a republic of castes, so that it had a line of cleavage between the rich and the poor. Sometimes they were known as rich and poor, sometimes as patricians and plebeians, sometimes as aristocrats and the people. But when once that line of cleavage was established the end was certain. It made very little difference which form the end took: whether the rich tyrannized over and exploited the poor, or the poor overcame and plundered the rich; in either event the end of the republic had come.

Now, you have got to give to the pupils under you not merely an intellect, but an ethical training. It is partly going to come through your exercise of an influence of which they are hardly conscious. It is partly going to come through your direct teaching of them in such ways that they will know that they are being

taught. But it is a responsibility that, if you are to do your full work, you cannot escape. I don't for a moment think that the father and mother have any right to shirk their share of the burden. They can't put it on you and do their own duty. I know, and you know probably much better than I do, the type of parent who really seems to have about as much sense of responsibility as a cuckoo, and who, having left the child at school, blandly assumes that the unfortunate teacher can make good all the lack of parental discipline and bringing up. The parents can't escape the responsibility for doing their share of the work; and even after both you and the father and mother have done all that you can, I know that much will remain that you can't accomplish.

There is unfortunately a great deal of truth in the Arab proverb that "the son is the son of his time quite as much as the son of his father"; and the children under you will be curiously responsive to general movements over which you and the parents can exercise only the smallest control. But while their careers can only be shaped, their characters moulded, to a certain degree, it is also true that up to that degree it is in your power to shape the career, to mould the character; and there is where, in my judgment, the greatest of all your tasks lies. We who are in public life after all do not deal with the real and vital things. That is one reason why I always find it a little difficult to make any distinction between my so-called political speeches and those in which I am only dealing with good citizenship; because down at bottom I haven't any real interest in anything in politics unless it counts for good citizenship. Tariffs, the currency, all kinds of other things that convulse the country and attract every one's attention, are not of any

real consequence compared with having the right kind of men and women in the homes of the country. No stream can rise above its source, and in our popular government we cannot get good results if we haven't the right kind of men and women in private life. And as regards that type of citizenship, all that we do in public life, all that we do in Congress, in the State legislatures, anywhere, sinks almost into insignificance compared with what you here whom I am addressing can do. You men and women engaged in this great work are in the highest and truest sense the real servants of the Republic. You have a greater task to perform than any public man can perform. It rests with you to see that the boys are turned out manly, fearless, and yet tender; turned out so that they shall be ashamed to flinch from any man or to wrong any woman; ashamed to show weakness in the face of strength, or not to deal gently with weakness if shown in others; and to teach the girls equally that to them belong by right not only the virtues of tenderness and unselfishness, but the virtues of strength and courage; so that it shall be a disgrace to the man if he is only strong, but not gentle; and a disgrace to the girl if in addition to gentleness she does not have strength.

Great is your task, and therefore thrice over are you to be congratulated because your task is great. Nothing in this world is worth having or worth doing unless it means effort, pain, difficulty. No kind of life is worth leading if it is always an easy life. I know that your life is hard; I know that your work is hard; and hardest of all for those of you who have the highest trained consciences, and who therefore feel always how much you ought to do. I know your work is hard, and that is why I congratulate you with all my heart. I have

never in my life envied a human being who led an easy life; I have envied a great many people who led difficult lives and led them well. And I come here to-night partly to speak with you over your tasks, partly to ask you to bend your best thought to considering in what way you can better perform those tasks, and still more to express to you the genuine admiration and regard I feel for you; and to say that, like every other American citizen worthy of the name, I hold no other class of people in our community in quite the regard that I hold the American teacher who is moulding the American nation of to-morrow.

XIII

THE NEGRO

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THE SQUARE DEAL TO THE NEGRO *

It is a good thing that the guard around the tomb of Lincoln should be composed of colored soldiers. It was my own good fortune at Santiago to serve beside colored troops. A man who is good enough to shed his blood for the country is good enough to be given a square deal afterward. More than that no man is entitled to, and less than that no man shall have.

* Remarks at the Lincoln Monument, Springfield, Ill., June 4, 1903.

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THE NEGRO PROBLEM *

In his second inaugural, in a speech which will be read as long as the memory of this nation endures, Abraham Lincoln closed by saying:

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

Immediately after his re-election he had already spoken thus:

"The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case must ever recur in similar cases. Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us, therefore, study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged. . . . May not all having a common interest reunite in a common effort to (serve) our common country? For my own part, I have striven and shall strive to avoid placing any obstacle in the way. So long as I have been here I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom. While I am deeply sensible to the high compliment of

* Address at the Lincoln dinner of the Republican Club of the city of New York, Feb. 13, 1905.

a re-election, and duly grateful, as I trust, to Almighty God for having directed my countrymen to a right conclusion, as I think, for their own good, it adds nothing to my satisfaction that any other man may be disappointed or pained by the result.

"May I ask those who have not differed with me to join with me in this same spirit toward those who have?"

This is the spirit in which mighty Lincoln sought to bind up the nation's wounds when its soul was yet seething with fierce hatreds, with wrath, with rancor, with all the evil and dreadful passions provoked by civil war. Surely this is the spirit which all Americans should show now, when there is so little excuse for malice or rancor or hatred, when there is so little of vital consequence to divide brother from brother.

Lincoln, himself a man of Southern birth, did not hesitate to appeal to the sword when he became satisfied that in no other way could the Union be saved, for high though he put peace he put righteousness still higher. He warred for the Union; he warred to free the slave; and when he warred he warred in earnest, for it is a sign of weakness to be half-hearted when blows must be struck. But he felt only love, a love as deep as the tenderness of his great and sad heart, for all his countrymen alike in the North and in the South, and he longed above everything for the day when they should once more be knit together in the unbreakable bonds of eternal friendship.

We of to-day, in dealing with all our fellow citizens, white or colored, North or South, should strive to show just the qualities that Lincoln showed: his steadfastness in striving after the right, and his infinite patience and forbearance with those who saw that right less

clearly than he did; his earnest endeavor to do what was best, and yet his readiness to accept the best that was practicable when the ideal best was unattainable; his unceasing effort to cure what was evil, coupled with his refusal to make a bad situation worse by any ill-judged or ill-timed effort to make it better.

The great Civil War in which Lincoln towered as the loftiest figure left us not only a reunited country, but a country which has the proud right to claim as its own glory won alike by those who wore the blue and by those who wore the gray, by those who followed Grant and by those who followed Lee; for both fought with equal bravery and with equal sincerity of conviction, each striving for the light as it was given him to see the light; though it is now clear to all that the triumph of the cause of freedom and of the Union was essential to the welfare of mankind. We are now one people, a people with failings which we must not blink, but a people with great qualities in which we have the right to feel just pride.

All good Americans who dwell in the North must, because they are good Americans, feel the most earnest friendship for their fellow countrymen who dwell in the South, a friendship all the greater because it is in the South that we find in its most acute phase one of the gravest problems before our people: the problem of so dealing with the man of one color as to secure him the rights that no one would grudge him if he were of another color. To solve this problem it is, of course, necessary to educate him to perform the duties a failure to perform which will render him a curse to himself and to all around him.

Most certainly all clear-sighted and generous men in the North appreciate the difficulty and perplexity of

this problem, sympathize with the South in the embarrassment of conditions for which she is not alone responsible, feel an honest wish to help her where help is practicable, and have the heartiest respect for those brave and earnest men of the South who, in the face of fearful difficulties, are doing all that men can do for the betterment alike of white and of black. The attitude of the North toward the negro is far from what it should be and there is need that the North also should act in good faith upon the principle of giving to each man what is justly due him, of treating him on his worth as a man, granting him no special favors, but denying him no proper opportunity for labor and the reward of labor. But the peculiar circumstances of the South render the problem there far greater and far more acute.

Neither I nor any other man can say that any given way of approaching that problem will present in our time even an approximately perfect solution, but we can safely say that there can never be such solution at all unless we approach it with the effort to do fair and equal justice among all men; and to demand from them in return just and fair treatment for others. Our effort should be to secure to each man, whatever his color, equality of opportunity, equality of treatment before the law. As a people striving to shape our actions in accordance with the great law of righteousness we cannot afford to take part in or be indifferent to the oppression or maltreatment of any man who, against crushing disadvantages, has by his own industry, energy, self-respect, and perseverance struggled upward to a position which would entitle him to the respect of his fellows, if only his skin were of a different hue.

Every generous impulse in us revolts at the thought of thrusting down instead of helping up such a man. To deny any man the fair treatment granted to others no better than he is to commit a wrong upon him—a wrong sure to react in the long run upon those guilty of such denial. The only safe principle upon which Americans can act is that of "all men up," not that of "some men down." If in any community the level of intelligence, morality, and thrift among the colored men can be raised, it is, humanly speaking, sure that the same level among the whites will be raised to an even higher degree; and it is no less sure that the debasement of the blacks will in the end carry with it an attendant debasement of the whites.

The problem is so to adjust the relations between two races of different ethnic type that the rights of neither be abridged nor jeoparded; that the backward race be trained so that it may enter into the possession of true freedom, while the forward race is enabled to preserve unharmed the high civilization wrought out by its forefathers. The working out of this problem must necessarily be slow; it is not possible in offhand fashion to obtain or to confer the priceless boons of freedom, industrial efficiency, political capacity, and domestic morality. Nor is it only necessary to train the colored man; it is quite as necessary to train the white man, for on his shoulders rests a well-nigh unparalleled sociological responsibility. It is a problem demanding the best thought, the utmost patience, the most earnest effort, the broadest charity, of the statesman, the student, the philanthropist; of the leaders of thought in every department of our national life. The church can be a most important factor in solving it aright. But above all else we need for its successful solution the sober,

kindly, steadfast, unselfish performance of duty by the average plain citizen in his every-day dealings with his fellows.

The ideal of elemental justice meted out to every man is the ideal we should keep ever before us. It will be many a long day before we attain to it, and unless we show not only devotion to it, but also wisdom and self-restraint in the exhibition of that devotion, we shall defer the time for its realization still further. In striving to attain to so much of it as concerns dealing with men of different colors, we must remember two things.

In the first place, it is true of the colored man, as it is true of the white man, that in the long run his fate must depend far more upon his own effort than upon the efforts of any outside friend. Every vicious, venal, or ignorant colored man is an even greater foe to his own race than to the community as a whole. The colored man's self-respect entitles him to do that share in the political work of the country which is warranted by his individual ability and integrity and the position he has won for himself. But the prime requisite of the race is moral and industrial uplifting.

Laziness and shiftlessness, these, and above all, vice and criminality of every kind, are evils more potent for harm to the black race than all acts of oppression of white men put together. The colored man who fails to condemn crime in another colored man, who fails to co-operate in all lawful ways in bringing colored criminals to justice, is the worst enemy of his own people, as well as an enemy to all the people. Law-abiding black men should, for the sake of their race, be foremost in relentless and unceasing warfare against lawbreaking black men. If the standards of private morality and

industrial efficiency can be raised high enough among the black race, then its future on this continent is secure. The stability and purity of the home is vital to the welfare of the black race, as it is to the welfare of every race.

In the next place the white man who, if only he is willing, can help the colored man more than all other white men put together, is the white man who is his neighbor, North or South. Each of us must do his whole duty without flinching, and if that duty is national it must be done in accordance with the principles above laid down. But in endeavoring each to be his brother's keeper it is wise to remember that each can normally do most for the brother who is his immediate neighbor. If we are sincere friends of the negro let us each in his own locality show it by his action therein, and let us each show it also by upholding the hands of the white man, in whatever locality, who is striving to do justice to the poor and the helpless, to be a shield to those whose need for such a shield is great.

The heartiest acknowledgments are due to the ministers, the judges and law officers, the grand juries, the public men, and the great daily newspapers in the South, who have recently done such effective work in leading the crusade against lynching in the South; and I am glad to say that during the last three months the returns, as far as they can be gathered, show a smaller number of lynchings than for any other three months during the last twenty years. Let us uphold in every way the hands of the men who have led in this work, who are striving to do all their work in this spirit. I am about to quote from the address of the Right Reverend Robert Strange, bishop coadjutor of North Carolina, as given in the *Southern Churchman* of October 8, 1904.

The bishop first enters an emphatic plea against any social intermingling of the races; a question which must, of course, be left to the people of each community to settle for themselves, as in such a matter no one community—and indeed no one individual—can dictate to any other; always provided that in each locality men keep in mind the fact that there must be no confusing of civil privileges with social intercourse. Civil law cannot regulate social practices. Society, as such, is a law unto itself, and will always regulate its own practices and habits. Full recognition of the fundamental fact that all men should stand on an equal footing, as regards civil privileges, in no way interferes with recognition of the further fact that all reflecting men of both races are united in feeling that race purity must be maintained. The bishop continues:

"What should the white men of the South do for the negro? They must give him a free hand, a fair field, and a cordial Godspeed, the two races working together for their mutual benefit and for the development of our common country. He must have liberty, equal opportunity to make his living, to earn his bread, to build his home. He must have justice, equal rights, and protection before the law. He must have the same political privileges; the suffrage should be based on character and intelligence for white and black alike. He must have the same public advantages of education; the public schools are for all the people, whatever their color or condition. The white men of the South should give hearty and respectful consideration to the exceptional men of the negro race, to those who have the character, the ability, and the desire to be lawyers, physicians, teachers, preachers, leaders of thought and conduct among their own men and women. We should give them cheer and opportunity to gratify every lauda-

ble ambition, and to seek every innocent satisfaction among their own people. Finally, the best white men of the South should have frequent conferences with the best colored men, where, in frank, earnest, and sympathetic discussion they might understand each other better, smooth difficulties, and so guide and encourage the weaker race."

Surely we can all of us join in expressing our substantial agreement with the principles thus laid down by this North Carolina bishop, this representative of the Christian thought of the South.

I am speaking on the occasion of the celebration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, and to men who count it their peculiar privilege that they have the right to hold Lincoln's memory dear, and the duty to strive to work along the lines that he laid down. We can pay most fitting homage to his memory by doing the tasks allotted to us in the spirit in which he did infinitely greater and more terrible tasks allotted to him.

Let us be steadfast for the right; but let us err on the side of generosity rather than on the side of vindictiveness toward those who differ from us as to the method of attaining the right. Let us never forget our duty to help in uplifting the lowly, to shield from wrong the humble; and let us likewise act in a spirit of the broadest and frankest generosity toward all our brothers, all our fellow countrymen; in a spirit proceeding not from weakness but from strength, a spirit which takes no more account of locality than it does of class or of creed; a spirit which is resolutely bent on seeing that the Union which Washington founded and which Lincoln saved from destruction shall grow nobler and greater throughout the ages.

I believe in this country with all my heart and soul.

I believe that our people will in the end rise level to every need, will in the end triumph over every difficulty that rises before them. I could not have such confident faith in the destiny of this mighty people if I had it merely as regards one portion of that people. Throughout our land things on the whole have grown better and not worse, and this is as true of one part of the country as it is of another. I believe in the Southerner as I believe in the Northerner. I claim the right to feel pride in his great qualities and in his great deeds exactly as I feel pride in the great qualities and deeds of every other American. For weal or for woe we are knit together, and we shall go up or go down together; and I believe that we shall go up and not down, that we shall go forward instead of halting and falling back, because I have an abiding faith in the generosity, the courage, the resolution, and the common sense of all my countrymen.

The Southern States face difficult problems; and so do the Northern States. Some of the problems are the same for the entire country. Others exist in greater intensity in one section; and yet others exist in greater intensity in another section. But in the end they will all be solved; for fundamentally our people are the same throughout this land; the same in the qualities of heart and brain and hand which have made this Republic what it is in the great to-day; which will make it what it is to be in the infinitely greater to-morrow. I admire and respect and believe in and have faith in the men and women of the South as I admire and respect and believe in and have faith in the men and women of the North. All of us alike, Northerners and Southerners, Easterners and Westerners, can best prove our fealty to the nation's past by the way in which we do the na-

tion's work in the present; for only thus can we be sure that our children's children shall inherit Abraham Lincoln's single-hearted devotion to the great unchanging creed that "righteousness exalteth a nation."

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THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO *

To the white population as well as to the black, it is of the utmost importance that the negro be encouraged to make himself a citizen of the highest type of usefulness. It is to the interest of the white people that this policy be conscientiously pursued, and to the interest of the colored people that they clearly realize that they have opportunities for economic development here in the South not now offered elsewhere. Within the last twenty years the industrial operations of the South have increased so tremendously that there is a scarcity of labor almost everywhere; so that it is the part of wisdom for all who wish the prosperity of the South to help the negro to become in the highest degree useful to himself, and therefore to the community in which he lives. The South has always depended, and now depends, chiefly upon her native population for her work. Therefore in view of the scarcity not only of common labor, but of skilled labor, it becomes doubly important to train every available man to be of the utmost use, by developing his intelligence, his skill, and his capacity for conscientious effort. Hence the work of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute is a matter of the highest practical importance to both the white man and the black man, and well worth the support of both races alike in the South and in the North. Your fifteen hundred students are not only being educated in head and heart, but also trained to industrial efficiency, for from

* Address at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., October 24, 1905

the beginning Tuskegee has placed especial emphasis upon the training of men and women in agriculture, mechanics, and household duties. Training in these three fundamental directions does not embrace all that the negro, or any other race, needs, but it does cover in a very large degree the field in which the negro can at present do most for himself and be most helpful to his white neighbors. Every black man who leaves this institute better able to do mechanical or industrial work adds by so much to the wealth of the whole community and benefits all people in the community. The professional and mercantile avenues to success are overcrowded; for the present the best chance of success awaits the intelligent worker at some mechanical trade or on a farm; for this man will almost certainly achieve industrial independence. I am pleased, but not in the least surprised, to learn that many among the men and women trained at Tuskegee find immediate employment as leaders and workers among their own people, and that their services are eagerly sought by white people for various kinds of industrial work, the demand being much greater than the supply. Viewed from any angle, ignorance is the costliest crop that can be raised in any part of this Union. Every dollar put into the education of either white man or black man, in head, in hand, and in heart, yields rich dividends to the entire community. Merely from the economic standpoint it is of the utmost consequence to all our citizens that institutions such as this at Tuskegee should be a success. But there are other and even higher reasons that entitle it to our support. In the interest of humanity, of justice, and of self-protection, every white man in America, no matter where he lives, should try to help the negro to help himself. It is in the interest and for the

protection of the white man to see that the negro is educated. It is not only the duty of the white man, but it is to his interest, to see that the negro is protected in property, in life, and in all his legal rights. Every time a law is broken, every individual in the community has the moral tone of his life lowered. Lawlessness in the United States is not confined to any one section; lynching is not confined to any one section; and there is perhaps no body of American citizens who have deserved so well of the entire American people as the public men, the publicists, the clergymen, the countless thousands of high-minded private citizens, who have done such heroic work in the South in arousing public opinion against lawlessness in all its forms, and especially against lynching. I very earnestly hope that their example will count in the North as well as in the South, for there are just as great evils to be warred against in one region of our country as in another, though they are not in all places the same evils. And when any body of men in any community stands bravely for what is right, these men not merely serve a useful purpose in doing the particular task to which they set themselves, but give a lift to the cause of good citizenship throughout the Union. I heartily appreciate what you have done at Tuskegee; and I am sure you will not grudge my saying that it could not possibly have been done save for the loyal support you have received from the white people roundabout; for during the twenty-five years of effort to educate the black man here in the midst of a white community of intelligence and culture, there has never been an outbreak between the races, or any difficulty of any kind. All honor is due to the white men of Alabama, to the white men of Tuskegee, for what they have done. And right here let me say that

if in any community a misunderstanding between the races arises, over any matter, infinitely the best way out is to have a prompt, frank, and full conference and consultation between representatives of the wise, decent, cool-headed men among the whites and the wise, decent, cool-headed colored men. Such a conference will always tend to bring about a better understanding, and will be a great help all round.

Hitherto I have spoken chiefly of the obligations existing on the part of the white man. Now remember on the other hand that no help can permanently avail you save as you yourselves develop capacity for self-help. You young colored men and women educated at Tuskegee must by precept and example lead your fellows toward sober, industrious, law-abiding lives. You are in honor bound to join hands in favor of law and order and to war against all crime, and especially against all crime by men of your own race; for the heaviest wrong done by the criminal is the wrong to his own race. You must teach the people of your race that they must scrupulously observe any contract into which they in good faith enter, no matter whether it is hard to keep or not. If you save money, secure homes, become taxpayers, and lead clean, decent, modest lives, you will win the respect of your neighbors of both races. Let each man strive to excel his fellows only by rendering substantial service to the community in which he lives. The colored people have many difficulties to pass through, but these difficulties will be surmounted if only the policy of reason and common sense is pursued. You have made real and great progress. According to the census the colored people of this country own and pay taxes upon something like three hundred million dollars' worth of property, and have blotted out over

fifty per cent of their illiteracy. What you have done in the past is an indication of what you will be able to accomplish in the future under wise leadership. Moral and industrial education is what is most needed, in order that this progress may continue. The race cannot expect to get everything at once. It must learn to wait and bide its time; to prove itself worthy by showing its possession of perseverance, of thrift, of self-control. The destiny of the race is chiefly in its own hands, and must be worked out patiently and persistently along these lines. Remember also that the white man who can be of most use to the colored man is that colored man's neighbor. It is the Southern people themselves who must and can solve the difficulties that exist in the South; of course what help the people of the rest of the Union can give them must and will be gladly and cheerfully given. The hope of advancement for the colored man in the South lies in his steady, common-sense effort to improve his moral and material condition, and to work in harmony with the white man in upbuilding the Commonwealth. The future of the South now depends upon the people of both races living up to the spirit and letter of the laws of their several States and working out the destinies of both races, not as races, but as law-abiding American citizens.

XIV

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

1902–1908

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THE REPUBLICAN RECORD *

Forty years ago this club was founded, in the dark days of the Civil War, to uphold the hands of Abraham Lincoln and give aid to those who battled for the Union and for human liberty. Two years ago President McKinley came here as your guest to thank you, and through you all those far-sighted and loyal men who had supported him in his successful effort to keep untarnished the national good faith at home and the national honor abroad, and to bring back to this country the material well-being which we now so abundantly enjoy. It was no accident which made the men of this club who stood as in a peculiar sense the champions and upholders of the principles of Lincoln in the early sixties stand no less stoutly for those typified in the person of McKinley during the closing years of the century. The qualities apt to make men respond to the call of duty in one crisis are also apt to make them respond to a similar call in a crisis of a different character. The traits which enabled our people to pass unscathed through the fiery ordeal of the Civil War were the traits upon which we had to rely in the less serious, but yet serious, dangers by which we were menaced in 1896, 1898, and 1900.

From the very beginning our people have markedly combined practical capacity for affairs with power of

* Speech at the Founders' Day banquet of the Union League, Philadelphia, Pa., November 22, 1902.

devotion to an ideal. The lack of either quality would have rendered the possession of the other of small value. Mere ability to achieve success in things concerning the body would not have atoned for the failure to live the life of high endeavor; and, on the other hand, without a foundation of those qualities which bring material prosperity there would be nothing on which the higher life could be built. The men of the Revolution would have failed if they had not possessed alike devotion to liberty and ability (once liberty had been achieved) to show common sense and self-restraint in its use. The men of the great Civil War would have failed had they not possessed the business capacity which developed and organized their resources in addition to the stern resolution to expend these resources as freely as they expended their blood in furtherance of the great cause for which their hearts leaped. It is this combination of qualities that has made our people succeed. Other peoples have been as devoted to liberty, and yet, because of lack of hard-headed common sense and of ability to show restraint and subordinate individual passions for the general good, have failed so signally in the struggle of life as to become a byword among the nations. Yet other peoples, again, have possessed all possible thrift and business capacity, but have been trampled underfoot, or have played a sordid and ignoble part in the world, because their business capacity was unaccompanied by any of the lift toward nobler things which marks a great and generous nation. The stern but just rule of judgment for humanity is that each nation shall be known by its fruits; and if there are no fruits, if the nation has failed, it matters but little whether it has failed through meanness of soul or through lack of robustness of character. We must

judge a nation by the net result of its life and activity. And so we must judge the policies of those who at any time control the destinies of a nation.

Therefore I ask you to-night to look at the results of the policies championed by President McKinley on both the occasions when he appealed to the people for their suffrages, and to see how well that appeal has been justified by the event. Most certainly I do not claim all the good that has befallen us during the past six years as due solely to any human policy. No legislation, however wise, no administration, however efficient, can secure prosperity to a people or greatness to a nation. All that can be done by the lawmaker and the administrator is to give the best chance possible for the people of the country themselves to show the stuff that is in them. President McKinley was elected in 1896 on the specific pledge that he would keep the financial honor of the nation untarnished and would put our economic system on a stable basis, so that our people might be given a chance to secure the return of prosperity. Both pledges have been so well kept that, as is but too often the case, men are beginning to forget how much the keeping of them has meant. When people have become very prosperous they tend to become sluggishly indifferent to the continuation of the policies that brought about their prosperity. At such times as these it is of course a mere law of nature that some men prosper more than others, and too often those who prosper less, in their jealousy of their more fortunate brethren, forget that all have prospered somewhat. I ask you soberly to remember that the complaint made at the present day of our industrial or economic conditions never takes the form of stating that any of our people are less well off than they were seven or eight years

back, before President McKinley came in and his policies had a chance to be applied; but that the complaint is that some people have received more than their share of the good things of the world. There was no such complaint eight years ago, in the summer of 1894. Complaint was not then that any one had prospered too much; it was that no one had prospered enough. Let each one of us think of the affairs of his own household and his own business, let each of us compare his standing now with his standing eight years back, and then let him answer for himself whether it is not true that the policies for which William McKinley stood in 1896 have justified themselves thrice over by the results they have brought about.

In 1900 the issues were in part the same, but new ones had been added. Prosperity had returned; the gold standard was assured; our tariff was remodelled on the lines that have marked it at all periods when our well-being was greatest. But as must often happen, the President elected on certain issues was obliged to face others entirely unforeseen. Rarely indeed have our greatest men made issues—they have shown their greatness by meeting them as they arose. President McKinley faced the problems of the Spanish War and those that followed it exactly as he had faced the problems of our economic and financial needs. As a sequel to the war with Spain we found ourselves in possession of the Philippines under circumstances which rendered it necessary to subdue a formidable insurrection which made it impossible for us with honor or with regard to the welfare of the island to withdraw therefrom. The occasion was seized by the opponents of the President for trying to raise a new issue, on which they hoped they might be more successful than on the old. The

clamor raised against him was joined in not only by many honest men who were led astray by a mistaken view or imperfect knowledge of the facts, but by all who feared effort, who shrank from the rough work of endeavor. The campaign of 1900 had to be fought largely upon the new issue thus raised. President McKinley met it squarely. Two years and eight months ago, before his second nomination, he spoke as follows:

"We believe that the century of free government which the American people have enjoyed has not rendered them irresolute and faithless, but has fitted them for the great task of lifting up and assisting to better conditions and larger liberty those distant peoples who through the issue of battle have become our wards. Let us fear not. There is no occasion for faint hearts, no excuse for regrets. Nations do not grow in strength, the cause of liberty and law is not advanced by the doing of easy things. The harder the task the greater will be the result, the benefit, and the honor. To doubt our power to accomplish it is to lose faith in the soundness and strength of our popular institutions. . . . We have the new care and cannot shift it. And, breaking up the camp of ease and isolation, let us bravely and hopefully and soberly continue the march of faithful service, and falter not until the work is done. . . . The burden is our opportunity. The opportunity is greater than the burden."

There spoke the man who preached the gospel of hope as well as the gospel of duty, and on the issue thus fairly drawn between those who said we would do our new work well and triumphantly and those who said we would fail lamentably in the effort, the contest was joined. We won. And now I ask you, two years after the victory, to look across the seas and judge for

yourselves whether or not the promise has been kept. The prophets of disaster have seen their predictions so completely falsified by the event that it is actually difficult to arouse even a passing interest in their failure. To answer them now, to review their attack on our army, is of merely academic interest. They played their brief part of obstruction and clamor; they said their say; and the current of our life went over them and they sank under it as did their predecessors who, thirty-six years before, had declared that another and greater war was a failure, that another and greater struggle for true liberty was only a contest for subjugation in which the United States could never succeed. The insurrection among the Filipinos has been absolutely quelled. The war has been brought to an end sooner than even the most sanguine of us dared to hope. The world has not in recent years seen any military task done with more soldierly energy and ability; and done, moreover, in a spirit of great humanity. The strain on the army was terrible, for the conditions of climate and soil made their work harassing to an extraordinary degree, and the foes in the field were treacherous and cruel, not merely toward our men, but toward the great multitude of peaceful islanders who welcomed our rule. Under the strain of well-nigh intolerable provocation there were shameful instances, as must happen in all wars, where the soldiers forgot themselves, and retaliated evil for evil. There were one hundred thousand of our men in the Philippines, a hundred thousand hired for a small sum a month apiece, put there under conditions that strained their nerves to the breaking-point, and some of the hundred thousand did what they ought not to have done. But out of a hundred thousand men at home, have all been faultless? Every effort has been

made to detect such cases, to punish the offenders, and to prevent any recurrence of the deed. It is a cruel injustice to the gallant men who fought so well in the Philippines not to recognize that these instances were exceptional, and that the American troops who served in the far-off tropic islands deserve praise the same in kind that has always been given to those who have well and valiantly fought for the honor of our common flag and common country. The work of civil administration has kept pace with the work of military administration, and when on July 4 last amnesty and peace were declared throughout the islands the civil government assumed the complete control. Peace and order now prevail and a greater measure of prosperity and of happiness than the Filipinos have ever hitherto known in all their dark and checkered history; and each one of them has a greater measure of liberty, a greater chance of happiness, and greater safety for his life and property than he or his forefathers have ever before known.

Thus we have met each task that has confronted us during the past six years. Thus we have kept every promise made in 1896 and 1900. We have a right to be proud of the memories of the last six years. But we must remember that each victory only opens the chance for a new struggle; that the remembrance of triumphs achieved in the past is of use chiefly if it spurs us to fresh effort in the present. No nation has ever prospered as we are prospering now, and we must see to it that by our own folly we do not mar this prosperity. Yet we must see to it also that wherever wrong flourishes it be repressed. It is not the habit of our people to shirk issues, but squarely to face them. It is not the habit of our people to treat a good record in the past as anything but a reason for expecting an even better

record in the present; and no administration, gentlemen, should ask to be judged save on those lines. The tremendous growth of our industrialism has brought to the front many problems with which we must deal; and I trust that we shall deal with them along the lines indicated in speech and in action by that profound jurist and upright and fearless public servant who represents Pennsylvania in the Cabinet—Attorney-General Knox. The question of the so-called trusts is but one of the questions we must meet in connection with our industrial system. There are many of them and they are serious; but they can and will be met. Time may be needed for making the solution perfect; but it is idle to tell this people that we have not the power to solve such a problem as that of exercising adequate supervision over the great industrial combinations of to-day. We have the power and we shall find out the way. We shall not act hastily or recklessly; but we have firmly made up our minds that a solution, and a right solution, shall be found, and found it will be.

No nation as great as ours can expect to escape the penalty of greatness, for greatness does not come without trouble and labor. There are problems ahead of us at home and problems abroad, because such problems are incident to the working out of a great national career. We do not shrink from them. Scant is our patience with those who preach the gospel of craven weakness. No nation under the sun ever yet played a part worth playing if it feared its fate overmuch—if it did not have the courage to be great. We of America, we, the sons of a nation yet in the pride of its lusty youth, spurn the teachings of distrust, spurn the creed of failure and despair. We know that the future is ours if we have in us the manhood to grasp it, and we enter

the new century girding our loins for the contest before us, rejoicing in the struggle, and resolute so to bear ourselves that the nation's future shall even surpass her glorious past.

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THE POLICIES OF THE ADMINISTRATION *

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Notification Committee:

I am deeply sensible of the high honor conferred upon me by the representatives of the Republican party assembled in convention, and I accept the nomination for the presidency with solemn realization of the obligations I assume. I heartily approve the declaration of principles which the Republican National Convention has adopted, and at some future day I shall communicate to you, Mr. Chairman, more at length and in detail a formal written acceptance of the nomination.

Three years ago I became President because of the death of my lamented predecessor. I then stated that it was my purpose to carry out his principles and policies for the honor and the interest of the country. To the best of my ability I have kept the promise thus made. If next November my countrymen confirm at the polls the action of the convention you represent, I shall, under Providence, continue to work with an eye single to the welfare of all our people.

A party is of worth only in so far as it promotes the national interest, and every official, high or low, can serve his party best by rendering to the people the best service of which he is capable. Effective government comes only as the result of the loyal co-operation of many different persons. The members of a legislative

* Address at Oyster Bay, N. Y., July 27, 1904, in response to the committee appointed to notify him of his nomination for the presidency. From official proceedings of the thirteenth Republican National Convention, Minneapolis, 1904.

majority, the officers in the various departments of the Administration, and the legislative and executive branches as toward each other, must work together with subordination of self to the common end of successful government. We who have been intrusted with power as public servants during the past seven years of administration and legislation now come before the people content to be judged by our record of achievement. In the years that have gone by we have made the deed square with the word; and if we are continued in power we shall unswervingly follow out the great lines of public policy which the Republican party has already laid down; a public policy to which we are giving, and shall give, a united, and therefore an efficient, support.

In all of this we are more fortunate than our opponents, who now appeal for confidence on the ground, which some express and some seek to have confidentially understood, that if triumphant they may be trusted to prove false to every principle which in the last eight years they have laid down as vital, and to leave undisturbed those very acts of the Administration because of which they ask that the Administration itself be driven from power. Seemingly their present attitude as to their past record is that some of them were mistaken and others insincere. We make our appeal in a wholly different spirit. We are not constrained to keep silent on any vital question; we are divided on no vital question; our policy is continuous, and is the same for all sections and localities. There is nothing experimental about the government we ask the people to continue in power, for our performance in the past, our proved governmental efficiency, is a guaranty as to our promises for the future. Our opponents, either openly or

secretly, according to their several temperaments, now ask the people to trust their present promises in consideration of the fact that they intend to treat their past promises as null and void. We know our own minds and we have kept of the same mind for a sufficient length of time to give to our policy coherence and sanity. In such a fundamental matter as the enforcement of the law we do not have to depend upon promises, but merely to ask that our record be taken as an earnest of what we shall continue to do. In dealing with the great organizations known as trusts, we do not have to explain why the laws were not enforced, but to point out that they actually have been enforced, and that legislation has been enacted to increase the effectiveness of their enforcement. We do not have to propose to "turn the rascals out," for we have shown in very deed that whenever by diligent investigation a public official can be found who has betrayed his trust he will be punished to the full extent of the law without regard to whether he was appointed under a Republican or a Democratic administration. This is the efficient way to turn the rascals out and to keep them out, and it has the merit of sincerity. Moreover, the betrayals of trust in the last seven years have been insignificant in number when compared with the extent of the public service. Never has the administration of the government been on a cleaner and higher level; never has the public work of the nation been done more honestly and efficiently.

Assuredly it is unwise to change the policies which have worked so well and which are now working so well. Prosperity has come at home. The national honor and interest have been upheld abroad. We have placed the finances of the nation upon a sound gold basis. We

have done this with the aid of many who were formerly our opponents, but who would neither openly support nor silently acquiesce in the heresy of unsound finance; and we have done it against the convinced and violent opposition of the mass of our present opponents who still refuse to recant the unsound opinions which for the moment they think it inexpedient to assert. We know what we mean when we speak of an honest and stable currency. We mean the same thing from year to year. We do not have to avoid definite and conclusive committal on the most important issue which has recently been before the people, and which may at any time in the near future be before them again. Upon the principles which underlie this issue the convictions of half of our number do not clash with those of the other half. So long as the Republican party is in power the gold standard is settled, not as a matter of temporary political expediency, not because of shifting conditions in the production of gold in certain mining centres, but in accordance with what we regard as the fundamental principles of national morality and wisdom.

Under the financial legislation which we have enacted there is now ample circulation for every business need; and every dollar of this circulation is worth a dollar in gold. We have reduced the interest-bearing debt, and in still larger measure the interest on that debt. All of the war taxes imposed during the Spanish War have been removed with a view to relieve the people and to prevent the accumulation of an unnecessary surplus. The result is that hardly ever before have the expenditures and income of the government so closely corresponded. In the fiscal year that has just closed the excess of income over the ordinary expenditures was

nine millions of dollars. This does not take account of the fifty millions expended out of the accumulated surplus for the purchase of the Isthmian Canal. It is an extraordinary proof of the sound financial condition of the nation that instead of following the usual course in such matters and throwing the burden upon posterity by an issue of bonds, we were able to make the payment outright and yet after it to have in the Treasury a surplus of one hundred and sixty-one millions. Moreover, we were able to pay this fifty millions of dollars out of hand without causing the slightest disturbance to business conditions.

We have enacted a tariff law under which during the past few years the country has attained a height of material well-being never before reached. Wages are higher than ever before. That whenever the need arises there should be a readjustment of the tariff schedules is undoubted; but such changes can with safety be made only by those whose devotion to the principle of a protective tariff is beyond question; for otherwise the changes would amount not to readjustment, but to repeal. The readjustment when made must maintain and not destroy the protective principle. To the farmer, the merchant, the manufacturer this is vital; but perhaps no other man is so much interested as the wage-worker in the maintenance of our present economic system, both as regards the finances and the tariff. The standard of living of our wage-workers is higher than that of any other country, and it cannot so remain unless we have a protective tariff which shall always keep as a minimum a rate of duty sufficient to cover the difference between the labor cost here and abroad. Those who, like our opponents, "denounce protection as a robbery," thereby explicitly commit themselves to the proposition

that if they were to revise the tariff no heed would be paid to the necessity of meeting this difference between the standards of living for wage-workers here and in other countries; and therefore on this point their antagonism to our position is fundamental. Here again we ask that their promises and ours be judged by what has been done in the immediate past. We ask that sober and sensible men compare the workings of the present tariff law, and the conditions which obtain under it, with the workings of the preceding tariff law of 1894 and the conditions which that tariff of 1894 helped to bring about.

We believe in reciprocity with foreign nations on the terms outlined in President McKinley's last speech, which urged the extension of our foreign markets by reciprocal agreements whenever they could be made without injury to American industry and labor. It is a singular fact that the only great reciprocity treaty recently adopted—that with Cuba—was finally opposed almost alone by the representatives of the very party which now states that it favors reciprocity. And here again we ask that the worth of our words be judged by comparing their deeds with ours. On this Cuban reciprocity treaty there were at the outset grave differences of opinion among ourselves; and the notable thing in the negotiation and ratification of the treaty, and in the legislation which carried it into effect, was the highly practical manner in which without sacrifice of principle these differences of opinion were reconciled. There was no rupture of a great party, but an excellent practical outcome, the result of the harmonious co-operation of two successive Presidents and two successive Congresses. This is an illustration of the governing capacity which entitles us to the confidence of the people

not only in our purposes but in our practical ability to achieve those purposes. Judging by the history of the last twelve years, down to this very month, is there justification for believing that under similar circumstances and with similar initial differences of opinion, our opponents would have achieved any practical result?

We have already shown in actual fact that our policy is to do fair and equal justice to all men, paying no heed to whether a man is rich or poor; paying no heed to his race, his creed, or his birthplace.

We recognize the organization of capital and the organization of labor as natural outcomes of our industrial system. Each kind of organization is to be favored so long as it acts in a spirit of justice and of regard for the rights of others. Each is to be granted the full protection of the law, and each in turn is to be held to a strict obedience to the law; for no man is above it and no man below it. The humblest individual is to have his rights safeguarded as scrupulously as those of the strongest organization, for each is to receive justice, no more and no less. The problems with which we have to deal in our modern industrial and social life are manifold; but the spirit in which it is necessary to approach their solution is simply the spirit of honesty, of courage, and of common sense.

In inaugurating the great work of irrigation in the West the Administration has been enabled by Congress to take one of the longest strides ever taken under our government toward utilizing our vast national domain for the settler, the actual home-maker.

Ever since this continent was discovered the need of an isthmian canal to connect the Pacific and the Atlantic has been recognized; and ever since the birth of

our nation such a canal has been planned. At last the dream has become a reality. The Isthmian Canal is now being built by the government of the United States. We conducted the negotiation for its construction with the nicest and most scrupulous honor, and in a spirit of the largest generosity toward those through whose territory it was to run. Every sinister effort which could be devised by the spirit of faction or the spirit of self-interest was made in order to defeat the treaty with Panama and thereby prevent the consummation of this work. The construction of the Canal is now an assured fact; but most certainly it is unwise to intrust the carrying out of so momentous a policy to those who have endeavored to defeat the whole undertaking.

Our foreign policy has been so conducted that, while not one of our just claims has been sacrificed, our relations with all foreign nations are now of the most peaceful kind; there is not a cloud on the horizon. The last cause of irritation between us and any other nation was removed by the settlement of the Alaskan boundary.

In the Caribbean Sea we have made good our promises of independence to Cuba, and have proved our assertion that our mission in the island was one of justice and not of self-aggrandizement; and thereby no less than by our action in Venezuela and Panama we have shown that the Monroe Doctrine is a living reality, designed for the hurt of no nation, but for the protection of civilization on the western continent, and for the peace of the world. Our steady growth in power has gone hand in hand with a strengthening disposition to use this power with strict regard for the rights of others, and for the cause of international justice and good-will.

We earnestly desire friendship with all the nations of the New and Old Worlds; and we endeavor to place our

relations with them upon a basis of reciprocal advantage instead of hostility. We hold that the prosperity of each nation is an aid and not a hindrance to the prosperity of other nations. We seek international amity for the same reasons that make us believe in peace within our own borders; and we seek this peace not because we are afraid or unready, but because we think that peace is right as well as advantageous.

American interests in the Pacific have rapidly grown. American enterprise has laid a cable across this, the greatest of oceans. We have proved in effective fashion that we wish the Chinese Empire well and desire its integrity and independence.

Our foothold in the Philippines greatly strengthens our position in the competition for the trade of the East; but we are governing the Philippines in the interest of the Philippine people themselves. We have already given them a large share in their government, and our purpose is to increase this share as rapidly as they give evidence of increasing fitness for the task. The great majority of the officials of the islands, whether elective or appointive, are already native Filipinos. We are now providing for a legislative assembly. This is the first step to be taken in the future; and it would be eminently unwise to declare what our next step will be until this first step has been taken and the results are manifest. To have gone faster than we have already gone in giving the islanders a constantly increasing measure of self-government would have been disastrous. At the present moment to give political independence to the islands would result in the immediate loss of civil rights, personal liberty, and public order, as regards the mass of the Filipinos, for the majority of the islanders have been given these great boons by us, and only keep them

because we vigilantly safeguard and guarantee them. To withdraw our government from the islands at this time would mean to the average native the loss of his barely won civil freedom. We have established in the islands a government by Americans assisted by Filipinos. We are steadily striving to transform this into self-government by the Filipinos assisted by Americans.

The principles which we uphold should appeal to all our countrymen, in all portions of our country. Above all they should give us strength with the men and women who are the spiritual heirs of those who upheld the hands of Abraham Lincoln; for we are striving to do our work in the spirit with which Lincoln approached his. During the seven years that have just passed there is no duty, domestic or foreign, which we have shirked; no necessary task which we have feared to undertake, or which we have not performed with reasonable efficiency. We have never pleaded impotence. We have never sought refuge in criticism and complaint instead of action. We face the future with our past and our present as guarantors of our promises; and we are content to stand or to fall by the record which we have made and are making.

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THE ISSUES OF 1904 *

HON. J. G. CANNON, *Chairman of the Notification Committee.*

My dear Sir: I accept the nomination for the Presidency tendered me by the Republican National Convention, and cordially approve the platform adopted by it. In writing this letter there are certain points upon which I desire to lay especial stress.

It is difficult to find out from the utterances of our opponents what are the real issues upon which they propose to wage this campaign. It is not unfair to say that, having abandoned most of the principles upon which they have insisted during the last eight years, they now seem at a loss, both as to what it is that they really believe, and as to how firmly they shall assert their belief in anything. In fact, it is doubtful if they venture resolutely to press a single issue; as soon as they raise one they shrink from it and seek to explain it away. Such an attitude is the probably inevitable result of the effort to improvise convictions; for when thus improvised, it is natural that they should be held in a tentative manner.

The party now in control of the Government is troubled by no such difficulties. We do not have to guess at our own convictions, and then correct the guess if it seems unpopular. The principles which we profess

* Letter accepting the Republican nomination for President of the United States. Dated Oyster Bay, N. Y., September 12, 1904. From official proceedings of the thirteenth Republican National Convention, Minneapolis, 1904, pp. 195–218.

are those in which we believe with heart and soul and strength. Men may differ from us; but they cannot accuse us of shiftiness or insincerity. The policies we have pursued are those which we earnestly hold as essential to the national welfare and repute. Our actions speak even louder than our words for the faith that is in us. We base our appeal upon what we have done and are doing, upon our record of administration and legislation during the last seven years, in which we have had complete control of the Government. We intend in the future to carry on the Government in the same way that we have carried it on in the past.

A party whose members are radically at variance on most vital issues, and if united at all, are only united on issues where their attitude threatens wide-spread disaster to the whole country, cannot be trusted to govern in any matter. A party which, with facile ease, changes all its convictions before election cannot be trusted to adhere with tenacity to any principle after election. A party fit to govern must have convictions. In 1896 the Republican party came into power, and in 1900 it retained power on certain definite pledges, each of which was scrupulously fulfilled. But in addition to meeting and solving the problems which were issues in these campaigns, it also became necessary to meet other problems which arose after election; and it is no small part of our claim to public confidence that these were solved with the same success that had attended the solution of those concerning which the battles at the polls were fought. In other words, our governmental efficiency proved equal not only to the tasks that were anticipated, but to doing each unanticipated task as it arose.

When the contest of 1896 was decided, the question

of the war with Spain was not an issue. When the contest of 1900 was decided, the shape which the Isthmian Canal question ultimately took could not have been foreseen. But the same qualities which enabled those responsible for making and administering the laws at Washington to deal successfully with the tariff and the currency, enabled them also to deal with the Spanish War; and the same qualities which enabled them to act wisely in the Philippines, and in Cuba, also enabled them to do their duty as regards the problems connected with the trusts, and to secure the building of the Isthmian Canal. We are content to rest our case before the American people upon the fact that to adherence to a lofty ideal we have added proved governmental efficiency. Therefore, our promises may surely be trusted as regards any issue that is now before the people; and we may equally be trusted to deal with any problem which may hereafter arise.

So well has the work been done that our opponents do not venture to recite the facts about our policies or acts and then oppose them. They attack them only when they have first misrepresented them; for a truthful recital would leave no room for adverse comment.

Panama offers an instance in point. Our opponents can criticise what we did in Panama only on condition of misstating what was done. The Administration behaved throughout not only with good faith, but with extraordinary patience and large generosity toward those with whom it dealt. It was also mindful of American interests. It acted in strict compliance with the law passed by Congress. Had not Panama been promptly recognized, and the transit across the Isthmus kept open, in accordance with our treaty rights and obligations, there would have ensued endless gue-

rilla warfare and possibly foreign complications; while all chance of building the canal would have been deferred, certainly for years, perhaps for a generation or more. Criticism of the action in this matter is simply criticism of the only possible action which could have secured the building of the canal; as well as the peace and quiet which we were, by treaty, bound to preserve along the line of transit across the Isthmus. The service rendered this country in securing the perpetual right to construct, maintain, operate, and defend the canal was so great that our opponents do not venture to raise the issue in straightforward fashion; for if so raised there would be no issue. The decisive action which brought about this beneficent result was the exercise by the President of the powers vested in him, and in him alone, by the Constitution; the power to recognize foreign Governments by entering into diplomatic relations with them, and the power to make treaties which, when ratified by the Senate, become under the Constitution part of the supreme law of the land. Neither in this nor in any other matter has there been the slightest failure to live up to the Constitution in letter and in spirit. But the Constitution must be observed positively as well as negatively. The President's duty is to serve the country in accordance with the Constitution; and I should be derelict in my duty if I used a false construction of the Constitution as a shield for weakness and timidity, or as an excuse for governmental impotence.

Similar misrepresentation is the one weapon of our opponents in regard to our foreign policy, and the way the Navy has been made useful in carrying out this policy. Here again all that we ask is that they truthfully state what has been done, and then say whether

or not they object to it; for if continued in power we shall continue our foreign policy and our handling of the Navy on exactly the same lines in the future as in the past. To what phase of our foreign policy, and to what use of the Navy, do our opponents object? Do they object to the way in which the Monroe Doctrine has been strengthened and upheld? Never before has this doctrine been acquiesced in abroad as it is now; and yet, while upholding the rights of the weaker American republics against foreign aggression, the Administration has lost no opportunity to point out to these republics that those who seek equity should come with clean hands, and that whoever claims liberty as a right must accept the responsibilities that go with the exercise of the right. Do our opponents object to what was done in reference to the petition of American citizens against the Kishineff massacre? Or to the protest against the treatment of the Jews in Roumania? or to the efforts that have been made in behalf of the Armenians in Turkey? No other Administration in our history, no other Government in the world, has more consistently stood for the broadest spirit of brotherhood in our common humanity, or has held a more resolute attitude of protest against every wrong that outraged the civilization of the age at home or abroad. Do our opponents object to the fact that the international tribunal at The Hague was rescued from impotence, and turned into a potent instrument for peace among the nations? This Government has used that tribunal, and advocated its use by others, in pursuance of its policy to promote the cause of international peace and good-will by all honorable methods. In carrying out this policy, it has settled dispute after dispute by arbitration or by friendly agreement. It has behaved to-

ward all nations, strong or weak, with courtesy, dignity, and justice; and it is now on excellent terms with all.

Do our opponents object to the settlement of the Alaska boundary-line? Do they object to the fact that after freeing Cuba we gave her reciprocal trade advantages with the United States, while at the same time keeping naval stations in the island and providing against its sinking into chaos, or being conquered by any foreign Power? Do they object to the fact that our flag now flies over Porto Rico? Do they object to the acquisition of Hawaii? Once they "hauled down" our flag there; we have hoisted it again; do they intend once more to haul it down? Do they object to the part we played in China? Do they not know that the voice of the United States would now count for nothing in the Far East if we had abandoned the Philippines and refused to do what was done in China? Do they object to the fact that this Government secured a peaceful settlement of the troubles in Venezuela two years ago? Do they object to the presence of the ship-of-war off Colon when the revolution broke out in Panama, and when only the presence of this ship saved the lives of American citizens, and prevented insult to the flag? Do they object to the fact that American war-ships appeared promptly at the port of Beirut when an effort had been made to assassinate an American official, and in the port of Tangier when an American citizen had been abducted? and that in each case the wrong complained of was righted and expiated? and that within the last few days the visit of an American squadron to Smyrna was followed by the long-delayed concession of their just rights to those Americans concerned in educational work in Turkey? Do they object to the trade

treaty with China, so full of advantage for the American people in the future? Do they object to the fact that the ships carrying the national flag now have a higher standard than ever before in marksmanship and in seamanship, as individual units and as component parts of squadrons and fleets? If they object to any or all of these things, we join issue with them. Our foreign policy has been not only highly advantageous to the United States, but hardly less advantageous to the world as a whole. Peace and good-will have followed in its footsteps. The Government has shown itself no less anxious to respect the rights of others than insistent that the rights of Americans be respected in return. As for the Navy, it has been and is now the most potent guaranty of peace; and it is such chiefly because it is formidable, and ready for use.

When our opponents speak of "encroachments" by the Executive upon the authority of Congress or the Judiciary, apparently the act they ordinarily have in view is Pension Order No. 78, issued under the authority of existing law. This order directed that hereafter any veteran of the Civil War who had reached the age of sixty-two should be presumptively entitled to the pension of six dollars a month, given under the dependent pension law to those whose capacity to earn their livelihood by manual labor has been decreased fifty per cent, and that by the time the age of seventy was reached the presumption should be that the physical disability was complete; the age being treated as an evidential fact in each case. This order was made in the performance of a duty imposed upon the President by an act of Congress, which requires the Executive to make regulations to govern the subordinates of the Pension Office in determining who are entitled to pen-

sions. President Cleveland had already exercised this power by a regulation which declared that seventy-five should be set as the age at which total disability should be conclusively presumed. Similarly, President McKinley established sixty-five as the age at which half-disability should be conclusively presumed. The regulation now in question, in the exercise of the same power, supplemented these regulations made under Presidents Cleveland and McKinley.

The men who fought for union and for liberty in the years from 1861 to 1865 not only saved this Nation from ruin, but rendered an inestimable service to all mankind. We of the United States owe the fact that to-day we have a country to what they did; and the Nation has decreed by law that no one of them, if disabled from earning his own living, shall lack the pension to which he is entitled, not only as a matter of gratitude but as a matter of justice. It is the policy of the Republican party, steadily continued through many years, to treat the veterans of the Civil War in a spirit of broad liberality. The order in question carried out this policy, and is justified not merely on legal grounds, but also on grounds of public morality. It is a matter of common knowledge that when the average man who depends for his wages upon bodily labor has reached the age of sixty-two his earning ability is in all probability less by half than it was when he was in his prime; and that by the time he has reached the age of seventy he has probably lost all earning ability. If there is doubt upon this point let the doubter examine the employees doing manual labor in any great manufactory or any great railroad, and find out how large is the proportion of men between the ages of sixty-two and seventy, and whether these men are still employed at the highly paid

tasks which they did in their prime. As a matter of fact, many railroads pension their employees when they have reached these ages, and in nations where old-age pensions prevail they always begin somewhere between the two limits thus set. It is easy to test our opponents' sincerity in this matter. The order in question is revocable at the pleasure of the Executive. If our opponents come into power they can revoke this order and announce that they will treat the veterans of sixty-two to seventy as presumably in full bodily vigor and not entitled to pensions. Will they now authoritatively state that they intend to do this? If so, we accept the issue. If not, then we have the right to ask why they raise an issue which, when raised, they do not venture to meet.

In addition to those acts of the Administration which they venture to assail only after misrepresenting them, there are others which they dare not overtly or officially attack, and yet which they covertly bring forward as reasons for the overthrow of the party. In certain great centres and with certain great interests our opponents make every effort to show that the settlement of the Anthracite Coal Strike by the individual act of the President, and the successful suit against the Northern Securities Company—the Merger suit—undertaken by the Department of Justice, were acts because of which the present Administration should be thrown from power. Yet they dare not openly condemn either act. They dare not in any authoritative or formal manner say that in either case wrong was done or error committed in the method of action, or in the choice of instruments for putting that action into effect. But what they dare not manfully assert in open day, they seek to use furtively and through special agents. It is

perhaps natural that an attack so conducted should be made sometimes on the ground that too much, sometimes on the ground that too little, has been done. Some of our opponents complain because under the anti-trust and interstate commerce laws suits were undertaken which have been successful; others, because suits were not undertaken which would have been unsuccessful.

The Democratic State Convention in New York dealt with the Anthracite Coal Strike by demanding in deliberate and formal fashion that the National Government should take possession of the coal-fields; yet champions of that convention's cause now condemn the fact that there was any action by the President at all—though they must know that it was only this action by the President which prevented the movement for national ownership of the coal-fields from gaining what might well have been an irresistible impetus. Such mutually destructive criticisms furnish an adequate measure of the chance for coherent action or constructive legislation if our opponents should be given power.

So much for what our opponents openly or covertly advance in the way of an attack on the acts of the Administration. When we come to consider the policies for which they profess to stand we are met with the difficulty always arising when statements of policy are so made that they can be interpreted in different ways. On some of the vital questions that have confronted the American people in the last decade, our opponents take the position that silence is the best possible way to convey their views. They contend that their lukewarm attitude of partial acquiescence in what others have accomplished entitles them to be made the cus-

todians of the financial honor and commercial interests which they have but recently sought to ruin. Being unable to agree among themselves as to whether the gold standard is a curse or a blessing, and as to whether we ought or ought not to have free and unlimited coinage of silver, they have apparently thought it expedient to avoid any committal on these subjects, and individually each to follow his particular bent. Their nearest approach to a majority judgment seems to be that it is now inexpedient to assert their convictions one way or the other, and that the establishment of the gold standard by the Republican party should not be disturbed unless there is an alteration in the relative quantity of production of silver and gold. Men who hold sincere convictions on vital questions can respect equally sincere men with whose views they radically differ; and men may confess a change of faith without compromising their honor or their self-respect. But it is difficult to respect an attitude of mind such as has been fairly described above; and where there is no respect there can be no trust. A policy with so slender a basis of principle would not stand the strain of a single year of business adversity.

We, on the contrary, believe in the gold standard as fixed by the usage and verdict of the business world, and in a sound monetary system, as matters of principle; as matters not of momentary political expediency, but of permanent organic policy. In 1896 and again in 1900 far-sighted men, without regard to their party fealty in the past, joined to work against what they regarded as a debased monetary system. The policies which they championed have been steadfastly adhered to by the Administration; and by the act of March 14, 1900, Congress established the single gold standard as the measure

of our monetary value. This act received the support of every Republican in the House, and of every Republican except one in the Senate. Of our opponents, eleven supported it in the House and two in the Senate; and one hundred and fifty opposed it in the House and twenty-eight in the Senate. The record of the last seven years proves that the party now in power can be trusted to take the additional action necessary to improve and strengthen our monetary system, and that our opponents cannot be so trusted. The fundamental fact is that in a popular government such as ours no policy is irrevocably settled by law unless the people keep in control of the Government men who believe in that policy as a matter of deep-rooted conviction. Laws can always be revoked; it is the spirit and the purpose of those responsible for their enactment and administration which must be fixed and unchangeable. It is idle to say that the monetary standard of the Nation is irrevocably fixed so long as the party which at the last election cast approximately forty-six per cent of the total vote refuses to put in its platform any statement that the question is settled. A determination to remain silent cannot be accepted as equivalent to a recantation. Until our opponents as a party explicitly adopt the views which we hold and upon which we have acted and are acting, in the matter of sound currency, the only real way to keep the question from becoming unsettled is to keep the Republican party in power.

As for what our opponents say in reference to capital and labor, individual or corporate, here again all we need by way of answer is to point to what we have actually done, and to say that if continued in power we shall continue to carry out the policy we have been pursuing, and to execute the laws as resolutely and fear-

lessly in the future as we have executed them in the past. In my speech of acceptance I said:

"We recognize the organization of capital and the organization of labor as natural outcomes of our industrial system. Each kind of organization is to be favored so long as it acts in a spirit of justice and of regard for the rights of others. Each is to be granted the full protection of the law, and each in turn is to be held to a strict obedience to the law; for no man is above it and no man below it. The humblest individual is to have his rights safeguarded as scrupulously as those of the strongest organization, for each is to receive justice, no more and no less. The problems with which we have to deal in our modern industrial and social life are manifold; but the spirit in which it is necessary to approach their solution is simply the spirit of honesty, of courage, and of common sense."

The action of the Attorney-General in enforcing the antitrust and interstate commerce laws, and the action of the last Congress in enlarging the scope of the interstate commerce law, and in creating the Department of Commerce and Labor, with a Bureau of Corporations, have for the first time opened a chance for the National Government to deal intelligently and adequately with the questions affecting society, whether for good or for evil, because of the accumulation of capital in great corporations, and because of the new relations caused thereby. These laws are now being administered with entire efficiency; and as, in their working, need is shown for amendment or addition to them—whether better to secure the proper publicity, or better to guarantee the rights of shippers, or in any other direction—this need will be met. It is now asserted "that the common law, as developed, affords a complete legal remedy against

monopolies." But there is no common law of the United States. Its rules can be enforced only by the State courts and officers. No Federal court or officer could take any action whatever under them. It was this fact, coupled with the inability of the States to control trusts and monopolies, which led to the passage of the Federal statutes known as the Sherman Antitrust Act and the Interstate Commerce Act; and it is only through the exercise of the powers conferred by these acts, and by the statutes of the last Congress supplementing them, that the National Government acquires any jurisdiction over the subject. To say that action against trusts and monopolies should be limited to the application of the common law is equivalent to saying that the National Government should take no action whatever to regulate them.

Undoubtedly, the multiplication of trusts and their increase in power has been largely due to the "failure of officials charged with the duty of enforcing the law to take the necessary procedure." Such stricture upon the failure of the officials of the National Government to do their duty in this matter is certainly not wholly undeserved as far as the Administration preceding President McKinley's is concerned; but it has no application at all to Republican administration. It is also undoubtedly true that what is most needed is "officials having both the disposition and the courage to enforce existing law." This is precisely the need that has been met by the consistent and steadily continued action of the Department of Justice under the present Administration.

So far as the rights of the individual wage-worker and the individual capitalist are concerned, both as regards one another, as regards the public, and as regards or-

ganized capital and labor, the position of the Administration has been so clear that there is no excuse for misrepresenting it, and no ground for opposing it unless misrepresented. Within the limits defined by the National Constitution the National Administration has sought to secure to each man the full enjoyment of his right to live his life and dispose of his property and his labor as he deems best, so long as he wrongs no one else. It has shown in effective fashion that in endeavoring to make good this guaranty, it treats all men, rich or poor, whatever their creed, their color, or their birthplace, as standing alike before the law. Under our form of government the sphere in which the Nation as distinguished from the State can act is narrowly circumscribed; but within that sphere all that could be done has been done. All thinking men are aware of the restrictions upon the power of action of the National Government in such matters. Being ourselves mindful of them, we have been scrupulously careful on the one hand to be moderate in our promises, and on the other hand to keep these promises in letter and in spirit. Our opponents have been hampered by no such considerations. They have promised, and many of them now promise, action which they could by no possibility take in the exercise of constitutional power, and which, if attempted, would bring business to a standstill; they have used, and often now use, language of wild invective and appeal to all the baser passions which tend to excite one set of Americans against their fellow Americans; and yet whenever they have had power they have fittingly supplemented this extravagance of promise by absolute nullity in performance.

This Government is based upon the fundamental idea that each man, no matter what his occupation, his race,

or his religious belief, is entitled to be treated on his worth as a man, and neither favored nor discriminated against because of any accident in his position. Even here at home there is painful difficulty in the effort to realize this ideal; and the attempt to secure from other nations acknowledgment of it sometimes encounters obstacles that are well-nigh insuperable; for there are many nations which in the slow procession of the ages have not yet reached that point where the principles which Americans regard as axiomatic obtain any recognition whatever. One of the chief difficulties arises in connection with certain American citizens of foreign birth, or of particular creed, who desire to travel abroad. Russia, for instance, refuses to admit and protect Jews. Turkey refuses to admit and protect certain sects of Christians. This Government has consistently demanded equal protection abroad for all American citizens, whether native or naturalized. On March 27, 1899, Secretary Hay sent a letter of instructions to all the diplomatic and consular officers of the United States, in which he said: "This Department does not discriminate between native-born and naturalized citizens in according them protection while they are abroad, equality of treatment being required by the laws of the United States." These orders to our agents abroad have been repeated again and again, and are treated as the fundamental rule of conduct laid down for them, proceeding upon the theory "that all naturalized citizens of the United States while in foreign countries are entitled to and shall receive from this Government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens." In issuing passports the State Department never discriminates, or alludes to any man's religion; and in granting to every Amer-

ican citizen, native or naturalized, Christian or Jew, the same passport, so far as it has power it insists that all foreign Governments shall accept the passport as prima-facie proof that the person therein described is a citizen of the United States and entitled to protection as such. It is a standing order to every American diplomatic and consular officer to protect every American citizen, of whatever faith, from unjust molestation; and our officers abroad have been stringently required to comply with this order.

Under such circumstances, the demand of our opponents that negotiations be begun to secure equal treatment of all Americans from those Governments which do not now accord it, shows either ignorance of the facts or insincerity. No change of policy in the method or manner of negotiation would add effectiveness to what the State Department has done and is doing. The steady pressure which the Department has been keeping up in the past will be continued in the future. This Administration has on all proper occasions given clear expression to the belief of the American people that discrimination and oppression because of religion, wherever practised, are acts of injustice before God and man; and in making evident to the world the depth of American convictions in this regard we have gone to the very limit of diplomatic usage.

It is a striking evidence of our opponents' insincerity in this matter that with their demand for radical action by the State Department they couple a demand for a reduction in our small military establishment. Yet they must know that the heed paid to our protests against ill-treatment of our citizens will be exactly proportionate to the belief in our ability to make these protests effective should the need arise.

Our opponents have now declared themselves in favor of the Civil-Service law, the repeal of which they demanded in 1900 and in 1896. If consistent, they should have gone one step further and congratulated the country upon the way in which the Civil-Service law is now administered, and the way in which the classified service has been extended. The exceptions from examinations are fewer by far than ever before, and are confined to individual cases, where the application of the rules would be impracticable, unwise, unjust, or unnecessary. The administration of the great body of the classified civil service is free from politics, and appointments and removals have been put upon a business basis. Statistics show that there is little difference between the tenure of the Federal classified employees and that of the employees of private business corporations. Less than one per cent of the classified employees are over seventy years of age, and in the main the service rendered is vigorous and efficient. Where the merit system was of course most needed was in the Philippine Islands; and a civil-service law of very advanced type has there been put into operation and scrupulously observed. Without one exception every appointment in the Philippines has been made in accordance with the strictest standard of fitness, and without heed to any other consideration.

Finally, we come to certain matters upon which our opponents do in their platform of principles definitely take issue with us, and where, if they are sincere, their triumph would mean disaster to the country. But exactly as it is impossible to call attention to the present promises and past record of our opponents without seeming offensive, so it is impossible to compare their platform with their other and later official utterances

and not create doubt as to their sincerity. In their private or unofficial utterances many of them frankly advance this insincerity as a merit, taking the position that as regards the points on which I am about to speak they have no intention of keeping their promises or of departing from the policies now established, and that therefore they can be trusted not to abuse the power they seek.

When we take up the great question of the tariff we are at once confronted by the doubt as to whether our opponents do or do not mean what they say. They say that "protection is robbery," and promise to carry themselves accordingly if they are given power. Yet prominent persons among them assert that they do not really mean this and that if they come into power they will adopt our policy as regards the tariff; while others seem anxious to prove that it is safe to give them partial power, because the power would be only partial, and therefore they would not be able to do mischief. The last is certainly a curious plea to advance on behalf of a party seeking to obtain control of the Government.

At the outset it is worth while to say a word as to the attempt to identify the question of tariff revision or tariff reduction with a solution of the trust question. This is always a sign of desire to avoid any real effort to deal adequately with the trust question. In speaking on this point at Minneapolis, on April 4, 1903, I said:

"The question of tariff revision, speaking broadly, stands wholly apart from the question of dealing with the trusts. No change in tariff duties can have any substantial effect in solving the so-called trust problem. Certain great trusts or great corporations are wholly unaffected by the tariff. Almost all the others that are

of any importance have as a matter of fact numbers of smaller American competitors; and of course a change in the tariff which would work injury to the large corporation would work not merely injury but destruction to its smaller competitors; and equally of course such a change would mean disaster to all the wage-workers connected with either the large or the small corporations. From the standpoint of those interested in the solution of the trust problem such a change would therefore merely mean that the trust was relieved of the competition of its weaker American competitors, and thrown only into competition with foreign competitors; and that the first effort to meet this new competition would be made by cutting down wages, and would therefore be primarily at the cost of labor. In the case of some of our greatest trusts such a change might confer upon them a positive benefit. Speaking broadly, it is evident that the changes in the tariff will affect the trusts for weal or for woe simply as they affect the whole country. The tariff affects trusts only as it affects all other interests. It makes all these interests, large or small, profitable; and its benefits can be taken from the large only under penalty of taking them from the small also."

There is little for me to add to this. It is but ten years since the last attempt was made, by means of lowering the tariff, to prevent some people from prospering too much. The attempt was entirely successful. The tariff law of that year was among the causes which in that year and for some time afterward effectually prevented anybody from prospering too much, and labor from prospering at all. Undoubtedly it would be possible at the present time to prevent any of the trusts from remaining prosperous by the simple expedient of

making such a sweeping change in the tariff as to paralyze the industries of the country. The trusts would cease to prosper; but their smaller competitors would be ruined, and the wage-workers would starve, while it would not pay the farmer to haul his produce to market. The evils connected with the trusts can be reached only by rational effort, step by step, along the lines taken by Congress and the Executive during the past three years. If a tariff law is passed under which the country prospers, as the country has prospered under the present tariff law, then all classes will share in the prosperity. If a tariff law is passed aimed at preventing the prosperity of some of our people, it is as certain as anything can be that this aim will be achieved only by cutting down the prosperity of all of our people.

Of course, if our opponents are not sincere in their proposal to abolish the system of a protective tariff, there is no use in arguing the matter at all, save by pointing out again that if on one great issue they do not mean what they say, it is hardly safe to trust them on any other issue. But if they are sincere in this matter, then their advent to power would mean domestic misfortune and misery as wide-spread and far-reaching as that which we saw ten years ago. When they speak of protection as "robbery," they of course must mean that it is immoral to enact a tariff designed (as is the present protective tariff) to secure to the American wage-worker the benefit of the high standard of living which we desire to see kept up in this country. Now to speak of the tariff in this sense as "robbery," thereby giving it a moral relation, is not merely rhetorical; it is on its face false. The question of what tariff is best for our people is primarily one of expediency, to be determined not on abstract academic grounds, but

in the light of experience. It is a matter of business; for fundamentally ours is a business people—manufacturers, merchants, farmers, wage-workers, professional men, all alike. Our experience as a people in the past has certainly not shown us that we could afford in this matter to follow those professional counsellors who have confined themselves to study in the closet; for the actual working of the tariff has emphatically contradicted their theories. From time to time schedules must undoubtedly be rearranged and readjusted to meet the shifting needs of the country; but this can with safety be done only by those who are committed to the cause of the protective system. To uproot and destroy that system would be to insure the prostration of business, the closing of factories, the impoverishment of the farmer, the ruin of the capitalist, and the starvation of the wage-worker. Yet, if protection is indeed "robbery," and if our opponents really believe what they say, then it is precisely to the destruction and uprooting of the tariff, and therefore of our business and industry, that they are pledged. When our opponents last obtained power it was on a platform declaring a protective tariff "unconstitutional"; and the effort to put this declaration into practice was one of the causes of the general national prostration lasting from 1893 to 1897. If a protective tariff is either "unconstitutional" or "robbery," then it is just as unconstitutional, just as much robbery, to revise it down, still leaving it protective, as it would be to enact it. In other words, our opponents have committed themselves to the destruction of the protective principle in the tariff, using words which if honestly used forbid them from permitting this principle to obtain in even the smallest degree.

Our opponents assert that they believe in reciprocity.

Their action on the most important reciprocity treaty recently negotiated—that with Cuba—does not bear out this assertion. Moreover, there can be no reciprocity unless there is a substantial tariff; free trade and reciprocity are not compatible. We are on record as favoring arrangements for reciprocal trade relations with other countries, these arrangements to be on an equitable basis of benefit to both the contracting parties. The Republican party stands pledged to every wise and consistent method of increasing the foreign commerce of the country. That it has kept its pledge is proven by the fact that while the domestic trade of this country exceeds in volume the entire export and import trade of all the nations of the world, the United States has in addition secured more than an eighth of the export trade of the world, standing first among the nations in this respect. The United States has exported during the last seven years nearly ten billions of dollars' worth of goods—on an average half as much again annually as during the previous four years, when many of our people were consuming nothing but necessaries, and some of them a scanty supply even of these.

Two years ago, in speaking at Logansport, Indiana, I said:

"The one consideration which must never be omitted in a tariff change is the imperative need of preserving the American standard of living for the American working man. The tariff-rate must never fall below that which will protect the American working man by allowing for the difference between the general labor-cost here and abroad, so as at least to equalize the conditions arising from the difference in the standard of labor here and abroad—a difference which it should be our aim to foster in so far as it represents the needs of better edu-

cated, better paid, better fed, and better clothed working men of a higher type than any to be found in a foreign country. At all hazards, and no matter what else is sought for or accomplished by changes of the tariff, the American working man must be protected in his standard of wages, that is, in his standard of living, and must be secured the fullest opportunity of employment. Our laws should in no event afford advantage to foreign industries over American industries. They should in no event do less than equalize the difference in conditions at home and abroad."

It is a matter of regret that the protective-tariff policy, which, during the last forty-odd years, has become part of the very fibre of the country, is not now accepted as definitely established. Surely we have a right to say that it has passed beyond the domain of theory, and a right to expect that not only its original advocates but those who at one time distrusted it on theoretic grounds should now acquiesce in the results that have been proved over and over again by actual experience. These forty-odd years have been the most prosperous years this Nation has ever seen; more prosperous years than any other nation has ever seen. Beyond question this prosperity could not have come if the American people had not possessed the necessary thrift, energy, and business intelligence to turn their vast material resources to account. But it is no less true that it is our economic policy as regards the tariff and finance which has enabled us as a nation to make such good use of the individual capacities of our citizens, and the natural resources of our country. Every class of our people is benefited by the protective tariff. During the last few years the merchant has seen the export trade of this country grow faster than ever in our previous history.

The manufacturer could not keep his factory running if it were not for the protective tariff. The wage-worker would do well to remember that if protection is "robbery," and is to be punished accordingly, he will be the first to pay the penalty; for either he will be turned adrift entirely, or his wages will be cut down to the starvation point. As conclusively shown by the bulletins of the Bureau of Labor, the purchasing power of the average wage received by the wage-worker has grown faster than the cost of living, and this in spite of the continual shortening of working hours. The accumulated savings of the working men of the country, as shown by the deposits in the savings-banks, have increased by leaps and bounds. At no time in the history of this or any other country has there been an era so productive of material benefit alike to working man and employer as during the seven years that have just passed.

The farmer has benefited quite as much as the manufacturer, the merchant, and the wage-worker. The most welcome and impressive fact established by the last census is the wide and even distribution of wealth among all classes of our countrymen. The chief agencies in producing this distribution are shown by the census to be the development of manufactures, and the application of new inventions to universal use. The result has been an increasing interdependence of agriculture and manufactures. Agriculture is now, as it always has been, the basis of civilization. The six million farms of the United States, operated by men who, as a class, are steadfast, single-minded, and industrious, form the basis of all the other achievements of the American people and are more fruitful than all their other resources. The men on those six million farms receive

from the protective tariff what they most need, and that is the best of all possible markets. All other classes depend upon the farmer, but the farmer in turn depends upon the market they furnish him for his produce. The annual output of our agricultural products is nearly four billions of dollars. Their increase in value has been prodigious, although agriculture has languished in most other countries; and the main factor in this increase is the corresponding increase of our manufacturing industries. American farmers have prospered because the growth of their market has kept pace with the growth of their farms. The additional market continually furnished for agricultural products by domestic manufacturers has been far in excess of the outlet to other lands. An export trade in farm products is necessary to dispose of our surplus; and the export trade of our farmers, both in animal products and in plant products, has very largely increased. Without the enlarged home market to keep this surplus down, we should have to reduce production or else feed the world at less than the cost of production. In the forty years ending in 1900 the total value of farm property increased twelve and a half billions of dollars; the farmer gaining even more during this period than the manufacturer. Long ago overproduction would have checked the marvellous development of our national agriculture, but for the steadily increasing demand of American manufacturers for farm products required as raw materials for steadily expanding industries. The farmer has become dependent upon the manufacturer to utilize that portion of his produce which does not go directly to food-supply. In 1900 fifty-two per cent, or a little over half, of the total value of the farm products of the Nation was consumed in manufacturing industries as the raw materials

of the factories. Evidently the manufacturer is the farmer's best and most direct customer. Moreover, the American manufacturer purchases his farm supplies almost exclusively in his own country. Nine-tenths of all the raw materials of every kind and description consumed in American manufactories are of American production. The manufacturing establishments tend steadily to migrate into the heart of the great agricultural districts. The centre of the manufacturing industry in 1900 was near the middle of Ohio, and it is moving westward at the rate of about thirty miles in every decade; and this movement is invariably accompanied by a marked increase in the value of farm lands. Local causes, notably the competition between new farm lands and old farm lands, tend here and there to obscure what is happening; but it is as certain as the operation of any economic law that in the country as a whole farm values will continue to increase as the partnership between manufacturer and farmer grows more intimate through further advance of industrial science. The American manufacturer never could have placed this nation at the head of the manufacturing nations of the world if he had not had behind him, securing him every variety of raw material, the exhaustless resources of the American farm, developed by the skill and the enterprise of intelligent and educated American farmers. On the other hand, the debt of the farmers to the manufacturers is equally heavy, and the future of American agriculture is bound up in the future of American manufactures. The two industries have become, under the economic policy of our Government, so closely interwoven, so mutually interdependent, that neither can hope to maintain itself at the high-water mark of progress without the other. Whatever makes to the

advantage of one is equally to the advantage of the other.

So it is as between the capitalist and the wage-worker. Here and there there may be an unequal sharing as between the two in the benefits that have come by protection; but benefits have come to both; and a reversal in policy would mean damage to both; and while the damage would be heavy to all, it would be heaviest, and it would fall soonest, upon those who are paid in the form of wages each week or each month for that week's or that month's work.

Conditions change and the laws must be modified from time to time to fit new exigencies. But the genuine underlying principle of protection, as it has been embodied in all but one of the American tariff laws for the last forty years, has worked out results so beneficent, so evenly and widely spread, so advantageous alike to farmers and capitalists and working men, to commerce and trade of every kind, that the American people, if they show their usual practical business sense, will insist that when these laws are modified they shall be modified with the utmost care and conservatism, and by the friends and not the enemies of the protective system. They cannot afford to trust the modification to those who treat protection and robbery as synonymous terms.

In closing what I have to say about the system of promoting American industry let me add a word of cordial agreement with the policy of in some way including within its benefits, by appropriate legislation, the American merchant marine. It is not creditable to us as a nation that our great export and import trade should be well-nigh exclusively in the hands of foreigners.

It is difficult to know if our opponents are really sin-

cere in their demand for the reduction of the Army. If insincere, there is no need for comment, and if sincere, what shall we say in speaking to rational persons of an appeal to reduce an Army of sixty thousand men which is taking care of the interests of over eighty million people? The Army is now relatively smaller than it was in the days of Washington, when on the peace establishment there were thirty-six hundred soldiers, while there were a little less than four millions of population; smaller than it was in the peaceful days of Jefferson, when there were fifty-one hundred soldiers to five million three hundred thousand population. There is now one soldier to every fourteen hundred people in this country—less than one-tenth of one per cent. We cannot be asked seriously to argue as to the amount of possible tyranny contained in these figures. The Army as it is now is as small as it can possibly be and serve its purpose as an effective nucleus for the organization, equipment, and supply of a volunteer army in time of need. It is now used, as never before, for aiding in the upbuilding of the organized militia of the country. The War Department is engaged in a systematic effort to strengthen and develop the National Guard in the several States; as witness, among many other instances, the great field manœuvres at Manassas, which have just closed. If our opponents should come into power they could not reduce our Army below its present size without greatly impairing its efficiency and abandoning part of the national duty. In short, in this matter, if our opponents should come into power they would either have to treat this particular promise of the year 1904 as they now treat the promises they made in 1896 and 1900, that is, as possessing no binding force; or else they would have to embark on a policy which would be

ludicrous at the moment, and fraught with grave danger to the national honor in the future.

Our opponents contend that the Government is now administered extravagantly, and that whereas there was "a surplus of $80,000,000 in 1900" there is "a deficit of more than $40,000,000" in the year that has just closed.

This deficit is imaginary, and is obtained by including in the ordinary current expenses the sum of fifty millions, which was paid for the right of way of the Panama Canal out of the accumulated surplus in the Treasury. Comparing the current or ordinary expenditures for the two years, there was a surplus of nearly eighty millions for the year 1900, and of only a little more than eight millions for the year that has just closed. But this diminution of the annual surplus was brought about designedly by the abolition of the war taxes in the interval between the two dates. The acts of March 2, 1901, and April 12, 1902, cut down the internal-revenue taxes to an amount estimated at one hundred and five millions a year. In other words, the reduction of taxation has been considerably greater than the reduction in the annual surplus. Since the close of the war with Spain there has been no substantial change in the rate of annual expenditures. As compared with the fiscal year ending in June, 1901, for example, the fiscal year that has just closed showed a relatively small increase in expenditure (excluding the canal payment already referred to), while the year previous showed a relatively small decrease.

The expenditures of the Nation have been managed in a spirit of economy as far removed from waste as from niggardliness; and in the future every effort will be continued to secure an economy as strict as is con-

sistent with efficiency. Once more our opponents have promised what they cannot or should not perform. The prime reason why the expenses of the Government have increased of recent years is to be found in the fact that the people, after mature thought, have deemed it wise to have certain new forms of work for the public undertaken by the public. This necessitates such expenditures, for instance, as those for rural free delivery, or for the inspection of meats under the Department of Agriculture, or for irrigation. But these new expenditures are necessary; no one would seriously propose to abandon them; and yet it is idle to declaim against the increased expense of the Government unless it is intended to cut down the very expenditures which cause the increase. The pensions to the veterans of the Civil War are demanded by every sentiment of regard and gratitude. The rural free delivery is of the greatest use and convenience to the farmers, a body of men who live under conditions which make them ordinarily receive little direct return for what they pay toward the support of the Government. The irrigation policy in the arid and semiarid regions of the West is one fraught with the most beneficent and far-reaching good to the actual settlers, the home-makers, whose encouragement is a traditional feature in America's national policy. Do our opponents grudge the fifty millions paid for the Panama Canal? Do they intend to cut down on the pensions to the veterans of the Civil War? Do they intend to put a stop to the irrigation policy? or to the permanent census bureau? or to immigration inspection? Do they intend to abolish rural free delivery? Do they intend to cut down the Navy? or the Alaskan telegraph system? Do they intend to dismantle our coast fortifications? If there is to be a real and sub-

stantial cutting down in national expenditures it must be in such matters as these. The Department of Agriculture has done service of incalculable value to the farmers of this country in many different lines. Do our opponents wish to cut down the money for this service? They can do it only by destroying the usefulness of the service itself.

The public work of the United States has never been conducted with a higher degree of honesty and efficiency than at the present time; and a special meed of praise belongs to those officials responsible for the Philippines and Porto Rico, where the administrations have been models of their kind. Of course, wrong has occasionally occurred, but it has been relentlessly stamped out. We have known no party in dealing with offenders, and have hunted down without mercy every wrong-doer in the service of the Nation whom it was possible by the utmost vigilance to detect; for the public servant who betrays his trust and the private individual who debauches him stand as the worst of criminals, because their crimes are crimes against the entire community, and not only against this generation, but against the generations that are yet to be.

Our opponents promise independence to the Philippine Islands. Here again we are confronted by the fact that their irreconcilable differences of opinion among themselves, their proved inability to create a constructive policy when in power, and their readiness, for the sake of momentary political expediency, to abandon the principles upon which they have insisted as essential, conspire to puzzle us as to whether they do or do not intend in good faith to carry out this promise if they are given control of the Government. In their platform they declare for independence, apparently—for their

language is a little obscure—without qualification as to time; and indeed a qualification as to time is an absurdity, for we have neither right nor power to bind our successors when it is impossible to foretell the conditions which may confront them; while if there is any principle involved in the matter, it is just as wrong to deny independence for a few years as to deny it for an indefinite period. But in later and equally official utterances by our opponents the term self-government was substituted for independence; the words used being so chosen that in their natural construction they described precisely the policy now being carried on. The language of the platform indicated a radical change of policy; the later utterances indicated a continuance of the present policy. But this caused trouble in their own ranks; and in a still later, although less formal, utterance, the self-government promise was recanted, and independence at some future time was promised in its place. They have occupied three entirely different positions within fifty days. Which is the promise they really intend to keep? They do not know their own minds; and no one can tell how long they would keep of the same mind, should they by any chance come to a working agreement among themselves. If such ambiguity affected only the American people it would not so greatly matter; for the American people can take care of themselves. But the Filipinos are in no such condition. Confidence is with them a plant of slow growth. They have been taught to trust the word of this Government because this Government has promised nothing which it did not perform. If promised independence they will expect independence; not in the remote future, for their descendants, but immediately, for themselves. If the promise thus made is not immediately fulfilled they will regard it as

broken, and will not again trust to American faith; and it would be indeed a wicked thing to deceive them in such fashion. Moreover, even if the promise were made to take effect only in the distant future, the Filipinos would be thrown into confusion thereby. Instead of continuing to endeavor to fit themselves for moral and material advancement in the present, they would abandon all effort at progress and begin factional intrigues for future power.

To promise to give them independence when it is "prudent" to do so, or when they are "fit" for it, of course implies that they are not fit for it now, and that it would be imprudent to give it to them now. But as we must ourselves be the judges as to when they become "fit," and when it would be "prudent" to keep such a promise if it were made, it necessarily follows that to make such a promise now would amount to a deception upon the Filipinos.

It may well be that our opponents have no real intention of putting their promise into effect. If this is the case, if, in other words, they are insincere in the promise they make, it is only necessary to say again that it is unwise to trust men who are false in one thing to deal with anything. The mere consciousness of broken faith would hamper them in continuing our policy in the islands; and only by continuing unchanged this policy can the honor of the country be maintained, or the interests of the islands subserved. If, on the other hand, our opponents came into power and attempted to carry out their promises to the Filipinos by giving them independence, and withdrawing American control from the islands, the result would be a frightful calamity to the Filipinos themselves, and in its larger aspect would amount to an international crime. An-

archy would follow; and the most violent anarchic forces would be directed partly against the civil government, partly against all forms of religious and educational civilization. Bloody conflicts would inevitably ensue in the archipelago, and just as inevitably the islands would become the prey of the first Power which in its own selfish interest took up the task we had cravenly abandoned. Of course, the practical difficulty in adopting any such course of action—such a "policy of scuttle," as President McKinley called it—would be found well-nigh insuperable. If it is morally indefensible to hold the archipelago as a whole under our tutelage in the interest of its own people, then it is morally indefensible to hold any part of it. In such case, what right have we to keep a coaling-station? What right to keep control over the Moro peoples? What right to protect the Igorrotes from their oppressors? What right to protect the law-abiding friends of America in the islands from treachery, robbery, and murder? Yet, to abandon the islands completely, without even retaining a coaling-station, would mean to abandon the position in the competition for the trade of the Orient which we have acquired during the last six years; and what is far more important, it would mean irreparable damage to those who have become the wards of the Nation. To abandon all control over the Moros would amount to releasing these Moros to prey upon the Christian Filipinos, civilized or semicivilized, as well as upon the commerce of other peoples. The Moros are in large part still in the stage of culture where the occupations of the bandit and the pirate are those most highly regarded; and it has not been found practical to give them self-government in the sense that we have been giving it to the Christian inhabitants. To abandon the Moro

country as our opponents propose in their platform, would be precisely as if twenty-five years ago we had withdrawn the Army and the civil agents from within and around the Indian reservations in the West, at a time when the Sioux and the Apache were still the terror of our settlers. It would be a criminal absurdity; and yet our opponents have pledged themselves thereto. If successful in the coming election they would either have to break faith, or else to do an act which would leave an indelible stain upon our national reputation for courage, and for good sense. During the last five years more has been done for the material and moral well-being of the Filipinos than ever before since the islands first came within the ken of civilized man. We have opened before them a vista of orderly development in their own interest, and not a policy of exploitation. Every effort is being made to fit the islanders for self-government, and they have already in large measure received it, while for the first time in their history their personal rights and civil liberties have been guaranteed. They are being educated; they have been given schools; they have been given libraries; roads are being built for their use; their health is being cared for; they have been given courts in which they receive justice as absolute as it is in our power to guarantee. Their individual rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are now by act of Congress jealously safeguarded under the American flag; and if the protection of the flag were withdrawn their rights would be lost, and the islands would be plunged back under some form of vicious tyranny. We have given them more self-government than they have ever before had; we are taking steps to increase it still further by providing them with an elected legislative assembly; and surely we had better await the

results of this experiment—for it is a wholly new experiment in Asia—before we make promises which as a Nation we might be forced to break, or which they might interpret one way and we another. It may be asserted without fear of successful contradiction that nowhere else in recent years has there been as fine an example of constructive statesmanship and wise and upright Administration as has been given by the civil authorities, aided by the Army, in the Philippine Islands. We have administered them in the interest of their own people; and the Filipinos themselves have profited most by our presence in the islands; but they have also been of very great advantage to us as a nation.

So far from having "sapped the foundations" of free popular government at home by the course taken in the Philippines, we have been spreading its knowledge, and teaching its practice, among peoples to whom it had never before been more than an empty name. Our action represents a great stride forward in spreading the principles of orderly liberty throughout the world. "Our flag has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores." We have treated the power we have gained as a solemn obligation, and have used it in the interest of mankind; and the peoples of the world, and especially the weaker peoples of the world, are better off because of the position we have assumed. To retrace our steps would be to give proof of an infirm and unstable national purpose.

Four years ago, in his speech of acceptance, President McKinley said:

"We have been moving in untried paths, but our steps have been guided by honor and duty. There will be no turning aside, no wavering, no retreat. No blow has been struck except for liberty and humanity, and

none will be. We will perform without fear every national and international obligation. The Republican party was dedicated to freedom forty-four years ago. It has been the party of liberty and emancipation from that hour; not of profession, but of performance. It broke the shackles of four million slaves, and made them free, and to the party of Lincoln has come another supreme opportunity which it has bravely met in the liberation of ten millions of the human family from the yoke of imperialism. In its solution of great problems, in its performance of high duties, it has had the support of members of all parties in the past, and it confidently invokes their co-operation in the future."

This is as true now as four years ago. We did not take the Philippines at will, and we cannot put them aside at will. Any abandonment of the policy which we have steadily pursued in the islands would be fraught with dishonor and disaster; and to such dishonor and disaster I do not believe that the American people will consent.

Alarm has been professed lest the Filipinos should not receive all the benefits guaranteed to our people at home by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. As a matter of fact, the Filipinos have already secured the substance of these benefits. This Government has been true to the spirit of the Fourteenth Amendment in the Philippines. Can our opponents deny that here at home the principles of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments have been in effect nullified? In this, as in many other matters, we at home can well profit by the example of those responsible for the actual management of affairs in the Philippines. In our several commonwealths here in the United States we, as a people, now face the complex problem

of securing fair treatment to each man regardless of his race or color. We can do so only if we approach the problem in the spirit of courage, common sense, and high-minded devotion to the right, which has enabled Governor Taft, Governor Wright, and their associates, to do so noble a work in giving to the Philippine people the benefit of the true principles of American liberty.

Our appeal is made to all good citizens who hold the honor and the interest of the Nation close to their hearts. The great issues which are at stake, and upon which I have touched, are more than mere partisan issues, for they involve much that comes home to the individual pride and individual well-being of our people. Under conditions as they actually are, good Americans should refuse, for the sake of the welfare of the Nation, to change the national policy. We, who are responsible for the administration and legislation under which this country, during the last seven years, has grown so greatly in well-being at home and in honorable repute among the nations of the earth abroad, do not stand inertly upon this record, do not use this record as an excuse for failure of effort to meet new conditions. On the contrary, we treat the record of what we have done in the past as incitement to do even better in the future. We believe that the progress that we have made may be taken as a measure of the progress we shall continue to make if the people again intrust the government of the Nation to our hands. We do not stand still. We press steadily forward toward the goal of moral and material well-being for our own people, of just and fearless dealing toward all other peoples, in the interest not merely of this country, but of mankind. There is not a policy, foreign or domestic, which we are now carrying out, which it would not be disas-

trous to reverse or abandon. If our opponents should come in and should not reverse our policies, then they would be branded with the brand of broken faith, of false promise, of insincerity in word and deed; and no man can work to the advantage of the Nation with such a brand clinging to him. If, on the other hand, they should come in and reverse any or all of our policies, by just so much would the Nation as a whole be damaged. Alike as lawmakers and as administrators of the law we have endeavored to do our duty in the interest of the people as a whole. We make our appeal to no class and to no section, but to all good citizens, in whatever part of the land they dwell, and whatever may be their occupation or worldly condition. We have striven both for civic righteousness and for national greatness; and we have faith to believe that our hands will be upheld by all who feel love of country and trust in the uplifting of mankind. We stand for enforcement of the law and for obedience to the law; our Government is a government of orderly liberty equally alien to tyranny and to anarchy; and its foundation-stone is the observance of the law, alike by the people and by the public servants. We hold ever before us as the all-important end of policy and administration the reign of peace at home and throughout the world; of peace, which comes only by doing justice.

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

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PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS *

My dear Mr. Foulke:

The statement that I have used the offices in the effort to nominate any Presidential candidate is both false and malicious. It is the usual imaginative invention which flows from a desire to say something injurious. Remember that those now making this accusation were busily engaged two months ago in asserting that I was using the offices to secure my own renomination. It is the kind of accusation which for the next few months will be rife. This particular slander will be used until exploded, and when exploded those who have used it will promptly invent another. Such being the case, I almost question whether it is worth while answering; but as it is you who ask, why, the answer you shall have.

Since the present Congress assembled, two months ago, I have sent to the Senate the names of all the officials I have appointed for the entire period since Congress adjourned on the 4th of March last, that is, for eleven months. Excluding army and navy officers, scientific experts, health officers, and those of the revenue-cutter service, I have made during this period about thirteen hundred and fifty-two appointments subject to confirmation by the Senate, eleven hundred and sixty-four being postmasters. Of these, appointments in the diplomatic and consular service and in the Indian service have been made without regard to politics;

* Letter addressed to Hon. William Dudley Foulke, Indianapolis, Ind. Dated, February 7, 1908.

in the diplomatic and consular services, more Democrats than Republicans having been appointed, as we are trying to even up the quotas of the Southern States. In nominating judges I have treated politics as a wholly secondary consideration, and instead of relying solely upon the recommendations of either Senators or Congressmen, have always conducted independent inquiries myself, personally through members of the bench or the bar whom I happened to know, or through Attorney-General Bonaparte, Secretary Taft, who was himself a judge; Secretary Root, because of his great experience at the bar, or Senator Knox, who was formerly my Attorney-General. In a number of the other offices, chiefly assistant secretaries or heads of bureaus here at Washington, but also Governors of Territories or men holding peculiar positions—such, for instance, as that of Commissioner of Education in Porto Rico—and also in a few other cases, notably those of marshals in certain of the Western States, but including various offices also here and there throughout the Union, I have either felt that the position was of such a character that the initiative in the choice could only with propriety come from me or from one of the Cabinet officers, or else I have happened personally to know or to know of a man of such peculiar qualifications that I desired to appoint him on my own initiative.

There remain the great bulk of the offices, including almost all of the post-offices, the collectorships of customs, the appraiserships, the land officers, and the like, numbering some twelve hundred and fifty or thereabouts. It is of course out of the question for me personally to examine or have knowledge of such a multitude of appointments, and therefore as regards them I normally accept the suggestions of Senators and Con-

gressmen, the elected representatives of the people in the localities concerned, always reserving to myself the right to insist upon the man's coming up to the required standard of character and capacity, and also reserving the right to nominate whomever I choose if for any reason I am satisfied that I am not receiving from Senator or Congressman good advice, or if I happen personally to know some peculiarly fit man. Where the man has done well in office I prefer to reappoint him, and do so when I can get the consent of the Senators from his locality; but if they refuse, the reappointment cannot be made. Ordinarily, as a matter of convenience, the appointment can best be settled by consultation beforehand, the advice of the Senator or Congressman who is elected and has peculiar means of knowing the wishes of his constituents being taken. But where a Senator treats this not as a matter of consultation or mutual agreement, not as a matter of convenience and expediency, but as a matter of right on his part to nominate whomever he chooses, the custom is necessarily discontinued.

In the South Atlantic and Gulf States, which have contained neither Senators nor Congressmen of my own party, I have been obliged to seek my advice from various sources. In these States I have appointed large numbers of Democrats, in certain States the Democrats appointed outnumbering the Republicans. For advice in appointing the Republicans I have relied wherever possible not upon office-holders at all, but upon men of standing and position who would not take office and on whose integrity I could depend. As instances merely, I will refer to Col. Cecil A. Lyon, of Texas, commanding one of the Texas National Guard regiments and a man of independent means, engaged in

active business; and to Mr. Pearl Wight, of Louisiana, and to Mr. Coombs, of Florida, also men of independent means and of large business affairs; all of them being among the most respected men in their several States. These men, and most of the others upon whom I rely, could not be persuaded to take any office in my gift; and I could no more coerce or control their political action than I could, for instance, that of presidents of chambers of commerce or colonels of national guard regiments in similar States in the North. In all of these States I have done my best, when I came to appointing Republicans, to put the best men in office—those whom the people of the locality accepted as such and regarded as leading citizens; and I have every reason to believe that the average of my appointees is very high. At present various efforts are being made to get up bolting delegations from the Southern States, and the meetings at which these so-called delegates are chosen are usually announced as "non-office-holders' " conventions. As a rule, this means only, so far as it means anything, that they are held under the lead of persons who wish to be put in office, but whose character and capacity are such that they have not been regarded as fit to be appointed under this administration. In these cases, be it remembered that the failure to secure office is not the result of the political action of the men in question; on the contrary, their political action is due to their failure to secure office.

You quote a newspaper as saying:

"We are now getting daily lessons in civil-service reform from the White House, which ought to attract national attention. The appointment of Taft workers to post-offices in Ohio, and of the totally unfit George W. Wanmaker as appraiser of this port, is now followed

by the President's refusal to reappoint a good Hughes man as collector of customs at Plattsburg."

This article is a good example of the accusations made by those of our opponents whose partisanship renders them especially unscrupulous and untruthful. Mr. Wanmaker's appointment was recommended by the three Congressmen from New York County and by the two Senators, the appointment being made precisely as the hundreds of similar appointments of postmasters, appraisers, internal-revenue collectors and the like, which are confirmed by the Senate, are made, and in conformance with the custom which has obtained throughout my term of service, and throughout the terms of service of Mr. McKinley, Mr. Cleveland, and my other predecessors. In this particular case, as it happens, Mr. Wanmaker is peculiarly fit for the position, being already an assistant appraiser who has rendered good service in that place, and his appointment is the promotion of a proper man; he was appointed assistant appraiser by President McKinley twelve years ago, has served as acting appraiser several times, and has a very good record. "The refusal to reappoint a good Hughes man as collector of customs at Plattsburg" refers to the case of Mr. Walter Witherbee, and the accusation in this case is particularly comic, because Mr. Witherbee was an open and avowed Taft man, the classmate of Secretary Taft's brother at Yale, and both Secretary Taft and his brother requested his reappointment—the only New York office-holder for whom they made such a request. The Congressman from his district and the Senators have not agreed about his successor, and he is still in office. These facts were either known to the editors of the paper in question, or could have been found out by the slightest inquiry.

There remains the allegation as to the appointment of "Taft workers" to post-offices in Ohio. In Ohio I have made fifty-eight post-office appointments; twenty-seven of these were reappointments, thirty-one were new appointments, the last including the cases where the incumbent had died, had been removed for cause, or had resigned. Generally the appointment was made exactly as in other States, upon the recommendation of the Congressman from the district. In various cases, however, as at Maumee, Strasburg, Bluffton, Greenville, and Leipsic, the nominations were made upon the recommendation of both Senators Foraker and Dick, or of one or the other. In four cases, the nominations were rejected by the Senate. In two of these, Dennison and Uhrichsville, the nominations of the new men were made on the recommendation of the then Congressman, Mr. Smyser; in each case the previous incumbent had not been giving very satisfactory service, in one instance he having failed to give sufficient personal attention to the office, as reported by the inspector, and in the other case the postmaster being also the publisher and editor of a newspaper and various irregularities having been noticed, some resulting in violation of law in the interest of the postmaster's paper. The course followed was precisely similar to that followed in the case of the various other post-offices in Ohio in the districts represented by Congressmen Keifer, Kennedy, Cole, and others, and precisely similar to the course followed as regards the recommendations of this same Congressman Smyser in other offices. At Spencerville investigation by the inspector showed that it was inadvisable to reappoint the incumbent, and that Mr. Wetherill, who had been originally recommended for this position by Senator Dick, should be appointed.

Senator Dick afterward withdrew his recommendation, but the inspector reported that Mr. Wetherill had by that time already been appointed, and that to withhold his commission would be a great injury to him and would defeat the ends of justice. The nomination was accordingly sent in. At Wapakoneta the incumbent did his work well, but the post-office inspector reported that the feeling was almost unanimous among his fellow townsmen that there should be a change, and a Mr. Moser appointed, it appearing that the postmaster was not popular with the people, while the man suggested for the nomination was unquestionably the choice of the patrons of the office, being regarded by them as a most progressive and public-spirited young business man, possessed of more than ordinary ability, "extremely popular with the people of his native city, irrespective of party affiliations." I call your attention to the fact that the Senate withdrew its opposition to one of these four men and confirmed him, so that the charge relates to only three out of the whole number, eleven hundred and sixty-four post-offices; that of these three, two were nominated in the usual fashion on the recommendation of the outgoing Congressman; and that the third nomination was made on the report of the inspector and would have been made without the slightest regard to whether there was a Presidential canvass on hand or not.

The statements in the editorial in question are therefore untrue in every particular.

As for your quotation from another newspaper, running as follows:

"Federal office-holders may be commanded to use their influence and their authority in behalf of a candidate. Such a command has been issued and the Presi-

dent should know of it. . . . Somebody has instructed postmasters that they must obtain from their subordinates either their resignations or their pledges of support for Taft delegates to the convention. . . .

"Even in Massachusetts efforts of this kind have recently been made, but happily they have been stopped, partly because the postmasters on whom the attempts were made had the courage to resist, and partly from other causes."

As to this there is really nothing to say except that it does not contain the slightest particle of truth, and that the misstatement is so gross that it is difficult to believe it other than a deliberate invention. There is not the slightest foundation for it, and no successful effort can be made to show that there is the slightest foundation for it. As regards the Massachusetts postoffices, in all except five cases my appointments were reappointments; that is, the incumbent was renominated, with the consent of the Senators or Congressmen, at the expiration of the regular term. Of these five cases, new men were put in three times because of death and twice because of the resignation of the incumbent. In each case, whether of appointment or reappointment, I followed the ordinary custom, accepting the suggestion either of the Senators or of the Congressmen, or both, as in each case the men suggested were eminently fit. Not a particle of difference has been made in this respect between those Congressmen who were for one presidential candidate and those Congressmen who were for another; and so far as I know, in every case the appointment has fully satisfied the local people. In other words, the appointments have been made not to control, but to recognize, the sentiment of the locality.

If such assertions as those of these papers are made in good faith, on knowledge of facts, and with any other purpose than to produce a political effect by false pretense, or by reckless statement without knowledge, let those making them produce the specific cases to which they refer. If in any such case the accusation is found true, it will have occurred without my knowledge, and I shall deal with it in the precise spirit of my instructions to the Civil Service Commission hereinafter referred to.

So far as I know the only other accusations that have been made as to the use of patronage have been in connection with the pension agent in New Hampshire and a collector of internal revenue in Ohio. In the case of the pension officer, the Senators and Congressmen could not agree on a nominee, two recommending one man and two another. I decided to send in a man recommended to me by outsiders, whom I believed to be better than either. The Senate rejected him. His name would have been sent in if there had been no Presidential canvass at all at this time. As regards collectors of internal revenue, some are appointed upon the recommendations of Senators, and some on the recommendations of Congressmen. In Ohio the collector of internal revenue whom I nominated in the First District was recommended by the Congressman of the district. In the Tenth District I followed the recommendation of the two Senators. In other words, I followed the same course in Ohio as in other States as regards all these nominations, the only difference being that Ohio is the single State where the bulk of the Federal employees have been inclined to be against the Presidential candidate from the State. In New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin, so far as I know, the enor-

mous majority of appointees are in each case for the Presidential candidate from the State. This has been true in Ohio; and my interference with patronage matters in Ohio has been limited to insisting, as I should insist anywhere else, that opposition to the purposes, policies, and friends of the administration shall not be considered as a necessary prerequisite to holding the commission of the President.

In my letter to the Civil Service Commission of June 12, 1902, which now holds good, and will be enforced, officers are warned not to use their places to control political movements, nor to coerce their subordinates, nor to neglect their public duties for political work, nor to cause any public scandal by their political activity; but outside of the classified service they are not otherwise limited as to political activity. No officer will be permitted to violate the above injunction, with my knowledge, no matter for what candidate he may be working; and I may add that the only officers as to whom any question of violation of this injunction has hitherto arisen have been men who are not working for Mr. Taft.

The above is a full statement of the facts. Not an appointment has been made that would not have been made if there had been no Presidential contest impending, and in no case has there been a deviation from the course that I would have pursued had none of those who actually are candidates for the nomination been candidates; nor has a single office-holder been removed or threatened with removal, or coerced in any way to secure his support for any Presidential candidate. In fact, the only coercion that I have attempted to exercise was to forbid the office-holders from pushing my own renomination, this being done in the following letter

sent to the members of my Cabinet on November 19, 1907:

"I have been informed that certain office-holders in your department are proposing to go to the National Convention as delegates in favor of renominating me for the Presidency, or are proposing to procure my indorsement for such renomination by State conventions. This must not be. I wish to inform such officers as you may find it advisable or necessary to inform in order to carry out the spirit of this instruction, that such advocacy of my renomination, or acceptance of an election as delegate for that purpose, will be regarded as a serious violation of official propriety, and will be dealt with accordingly."

Yours truly,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

XV

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

56

SOCIALISM *

1. Where We Cannot Work with Socialists

It is always difficult to discuss a question when it proves impossible to define the terms in which that question is to be discussed. Therefore there is not much to be gained by a discussion of Socialism *versus* Individualism in the abstract. Neither absolute Individualism nor absolute Socialism would be compatible with civilization at all; and among the arguments of the extremists of either side the only unanswerable ones are those which show the absurdity of the position of the other. Not so much as the first step toward real civilization can be taken until there arises some development of the right of private property; that is, until men pass out of the stage of savage socialism in which the violent and the thriftless forcibly constitute themselves co-heirs with the industrious and the intelligent in what the labor of the latter produces. But it is equally true that every step toward civilization is marked by a check on individualism. The ages that have passed have fettered the individualism which found expression in physical violence, and we are now endeavoring to put shackles on that kind of individualism which finds expression in craft and greed. There is growth in all such matters. The individualism of the Tweed Ring type would have seemed both commonplace and meritorious to the Merovingian Franks, where it was not

* *The Outlook*, March 20 and 27, 1909.

entirely beyond their comprehension; and so in future ages, if the world progresses as we hope and believe it will progress, the standards of conduct which permit individuals to make money out of pestilential tenements or by the manipulation of stocks, or to refuse to share with their employees the dreadful burdens laid upon the latter by the inevitable physical risks in a given business, will seem as amazing to our descendants as we now find the standards of a society which regarded Clovis and his immediate successors as pre-eminently fit for leadership.

With those self-styled Socialists to whom "Socialism" is merely a vaguely conceived catchword, and who use it to express their discontent with existing wrongs and their purpose to correct them, there is not much need of discussion. So far as they make any proposals which are not foolish, and which tend toward betterment, we can act with them. But the real, logical, advanced Socialists, who teach their faith as both a creed and a party platform, may deceive to their ruin decent and well-meaning but short-sighted men; and there is need of plain speaking in order accurately to show the trend of their teaching.

The immorality and absurdity of the doctrines of Socialism as propounded by these advanced advocates are quite as great as those of the advocates, if such there be, of an unlimited individualism. As an academic matter there is more need of refutation of the creed of absolute Socialism than of the creed of absolute individualism; for it happens that at the present time a greater number of visionaries, both sinister and merely dreamy, believe in the former than in the latter. One difficulty in arguing with professed Socialists of the extreme, or indeed of the opportunist, type, however, is

that those of them who are sincere almost invariably suffer from great looseness of thought; for if they did not keep their faith nebulous, it would at once become abhorrent in the eyes of any upright and sensible man. The doctrinaire Socialists, the extremists, the men who represent the doctrine in its most advanced form, are, and must necessarily be, not only convinced opponents of private property, but also bitterly hostile to religion and morality; in short, they must be opposed to all those principles through which, and through which alone, even an imperfect civilization can be built up by slow advances through the ages.

Indeed, these thoroughgoing Socialists occupy, in relation to all morality, and especially to domestic morality, a position so revolting—and I choose my words carefully—that it is difficult even to discuss it in a reputable paper. In America the leaders even of this type have usually been cautious about stating frankly that they proposed to substitute free love for married and family life as we have it, although many of them do in a roundabout way uphold this position. In places on the Continent of Europe, however, they are more straightforward, their attitude being that of one of the extreme French Socialist writers, M. Gabriel Deville, who announces that the Socialists intend to do away with both prostitution and marriage, which he regards as equally wicked—his method of doing away with prostitution being to make unchastity universal. Professor Carl Pearson, a leading English Socialist, states their position exactly: "The sex relation of the future will not be regarded as a union for the birth of children, but as the closest form of friendship between man and woman. It will be accompanied by no child-bearing or rearing, or by this in a much more limited number than

at present. With the sex relationship, so long as it does not result in children, we hold that the State in the future will in nowise interfere, but when it does result in children, then the State will have a right to interfere." He then goes on to point out that in order to save the woman from "economic dependence" upon the father of her children, the children will be raised at the expense of the State; the usual plan being to have huge buildings like foundling asylums.

Mr. Pearson is a scientific man who, in his own realm, is as worthy of serious heed as Mr. Flinders Petrie, whom I mention later, is in his realm; and the above quotation states in naked form just what logical scientific Socialism would really come to. Aside from its thoroughly repulsive quality, it ought not to be necessary to point out that the condition of affairs aimed at would in actual practice bring about the destruction of the race within, at most, a couple of generations; and such destruction is heartily to be desired for any race of such infamous character as to tolerate such a system. Moreover, the ultra-Socialists of our own country have shown by their attitude toward one of their leaders, Mr. Herron, that, so far as law and public sentiment will permit, they are now ready to try to realize the ideals set forth by Messrs. Deville and Pearson. As for Mr. Herron, I commend to those who desire to verify what I have said, the article in the Boston *Congregationalist* of June 15, 1901; and to those, by the way, who have not the time to hunt up all the original authorities, I would commend a book called "Socialism; the Nation of Fatherless Children," a book dedicated to the American Federation of Labor. The chapters on Free Love, Homeless Children, and Two Socialist Leaders are especially worth reading by any one who is for the moment

confused by the statements of certain Socialist leaders to the effect that advanced Socialism does not contemplate an attack upon marriage and the family.

These same Socialist leaders, with a curious effrontery, at times deny that the exponents of "scientific Socialism" assume a position as regards industry which in condensed form may be stated as, that each man is to do what work he can, or, in other words, chooses, and in return is to take out from the common fund whatever he needs; or, what amounts to the same thing, that each man shall have equal remuneration with every other man, no matter what work is done. If they will turn to a little book recently written in England called "The Case Against Socialism," they will find by looking at, say, pages 229 and 300, or indeed almost at random through the book, quotations from recognized Socialist leaders taking exactly this position; indeed, it is the position generally taken—though it is often opposed or qualified, for Socialist leaders usually think confusedly, and often occupy inconsistent positions. Mrs. Besant, for instance, putting it pithily, says that we must come to the "equal remuneration of all workers"; and one of her colleagues, that "the whole of our creed is that industry shall be carried on, not for the profit of those engaged in it, whether masters or men, but for the benefit of the community. . . . It is not for the miners, bootmakers, or shop assistants as such that we Socialists claim the profits of industry, but for the citizen." In our own country, in "Socialism Made Plain," a book officially circulated by the Milwaukee division of the Socialist party, the statement is explicit: "Under the labor time-check medium of exchange proposed by Socialists, any laborer could exchange the wealth he produced in any given number of hours for the wealth

produced by any other laborer in the same number of hours." It is unnecessary to point out that the pleasing idea of these writers could be realized only if the State undertook the duty of taskmaster, for otherwise it is not conceivable that anybody whose work would be worth anything would work at all under such conditions. Under this type of Socialism, therefore, or communism, the government would have to be the most drastic possible despotism; a despotism so drastic that its realization would only be an ideal. Of course in practice such a system could not work at all; and incidentally the mere attempt to realize it would necessarily be accompanied by a corruption so gross that the blackest spot of corruption in any existing form of city government would seem bright by comparison.

In other words, on the social and domestic side doctrinaire Socialism would replace the family and home life by a glorified state free-lunch counter and state foundling asylum, deliberately enthroning self-indulgence as the ideal, with, on its darker side, the absolute abandonment of all morality as between man and woman; while in place of what Socialists are pleased to call "wage slavery" there would be created a system which would necessitate either the prompt dying out of the community through sheer starvation, or an iron despotism over all workers, compared to which any slave system of the past would seem beneficent, because less utterly hopeless.

"Advanced" Socialist leaders are fond of declaiming against patriotism, of announcing their movement as international, and of claiming to treat all men alike; but on this point, as on all others, their system would not stand for one moment the test of actual experiment. If the leaders of the Socialist party in America should

to-day endeavor to force their followers to admit all negroes and Chinamen to a real equality, their party would promptly disband, and, rather than submit to such putting into effect of their avowed purpose, would, as a literal fact, follow any capitalistic organization as an alternative.

It is not accident that makes thoroughgoing and radical Socialists adopt the principles of free love as a necessary sequence to insisting that no man shall have the right to what he earns. When Socialism of this really advanced and logical type is tried as it was in France in 1792, and again under the Commune in 1871, it is inevitable that the movement, ushered in with every kind of high-sounding phrase, should rapidly spread so as to include, not merely the forcible acquisition of the property of others, but every conceivable form of monetary corruption, immorality, licentiousness, and murderous violence. In theory, distinctions can be drawn between this kind of Socialism and anarchy and nihilism; but in practice, as in 1871, the apostles of all three act together; and if the doctrines of any of them could be applied universally, all the troubles of society would indeed cease, because society itself would cease. The poor and the helpless, especially women and children, would be the first to die out, and the few survivors would go back to the condition of skin-clad savages, so that the whole painful and laborious work of social development would have to begin over again. Of course, long before such an event really happened the Socialistic régime would have been overturned, and in the reaction men would welcome any kind of one-man tyranny that was compatible with the existence of civilization.

So much for the academic side of unadulterated, or, as its advocates style it, "advanced scientific" Social-

ism. Its representatives in this country who have practically striven to act up to their extreme doctrines, and have achieved leadership in any one of the branches of the Socialist party, especially the parlor Socialists and the like, be they lay or clerical, deserve scant consideration at the hands of honest and clean-living men and women. What their movement leads to may be gathered from the fact that in the last presidential election they nominated and voted for a man who earns his livelihood as the editor of a paper which not merely practises every form of malignant and brutal slander, but condones and encourages every form of brutal wrong-doing, so long as either the slander or the violence is supposed to be at the expense of a man who owns something, wholly without regard to whether that man is himself a scoundrel, or a wise, kind, and helpful member of the community. As for the so-called Christian Socialists who associate themselves with this movement, they either are or ought to be aware of the pornographic literature, the pornographic propaganda, which make up one side of the movement; a pornographic side which is entirely proper in a movement that in this country accepts as one of its heads a man whose domestic immorality has been so open and flagrant as to merit the epithet of shameless. That criminal nonsense should be listened to eagerly by some men bowed down by the cruel condition of much of modern toil is not strange; but that men who pretend to speak with culture of mind and authority to teach, men who are or have been preachers of the Gospel or professors in universities, should affiliate themselves with the preachers of criminal nonsense is a sign of either grave mental or moral shortcoming.

I wish it to be remembered that I speak from the

standpoint of, and on behalf of, the wage-worker and the tiller of the soil. These are the two men whose welfare I have ever before me, and for their sakes I would do anything, except anything that is wrong; and it is because I believe that teaching them doctrine like that which I have stigmatized represents the most cruel wrong in the long run, both to wage-worker and to earth-tiller, that I reprobate and denounce such conduct.

We need have but scant patience with those who assert that modern conditions are all that they should be, or that they cannot be improved. The wildest or most vicious of Socialistic writers could preach no more foolish doctrine than that contained in such ardent defenses of uncontrolled capitalism and individualism as Mr. Flinders Petrie's "Janus," a book which is absurd, but which, because of this very fact, is not mischievous, for it can arouse no other emotion than the very earnest desire that this particular archæological shoemaker should stick to his early-Egyptian last. There are dreadful woes in modern life, dreadful suffering among some of those who toil, brutal wrong-doing among some of those who make colossal fortunes by exploiting the toilers. It is the duty of every honest and upright man, of every man who holds within his breast the capacity for righteous indignation, to recognize these wrongs, and to strive with all his might to bring about a better condition of things. But he will never bring about this better condition by misstating facts and advocating remedies which are not merely false, but fatal.

Take, for instance, the doctrine of the extreme Socialists, that all wealth is produced by manual workers, that the entire product of labor should be handed over every day to the laborer, that wealth is criminal in it-

self. Of course wealth is no more criminal than labor. Human society could not exist without both; and if all wealth were abolished this week, the majority of laborers would starve next week. As for the statement that all wealth is produced by manual workers, in order to appreciate its folly it is merely necessary for any man to look at what is happening right around him, in the next street, or the next village. Here in the city where *The Outlook* is edited, on Broadway between Ninth and Tenth Streets, is a huge dry-goods store. The business was originally started, and the block of which I am speaking was built for the purpose, by an able New York merchant. It prospered. He and those who invested under him made a good deal of money. Their employees did well. Then he died, and certain other people took possession of it and tried to run the business. The manual labor was the same, the good-will was the same, the physical conditions were the same; but the guiding intelligence at the top had changed. The business was run at a loss. It would surely have had to shut, and all the employees, clerks, laborers, everybody turned adrift, to infinite suffering, if it had not again changed hands and another business man of capacity taken charge. The business was the same as before, the physical conditions were the same, the good-will the same, the manual labor the same, but the guiding intelligence had changed, and now everything once more prospered, and prospered as had never been the case before. With such an instance before our very eyes, with such proof of what every business proves, namely, the vast importance of the part played by the guiding intelligence in business, as in war, in invention, in art, in science, in every imaginable pursuit, it is really difficult to show patience when asked to discuss such a

proposition as that all wealth is produced solely by the work of manual workers, and that the entire product should be handed over to them. Of course, if any such theory were really acted upon, there would soon be no product to be handed over to the manual laborers, and they would die of starvation. A great industry could no more be managed by a mass-meeting of manual laborers than a battle could be won in such fashion, than a painters' union could paint a Rembrandt, or a typographical union write one of Shakespeare's plays.

The fact is that this kind of Socialism represents an effort to enthrone privilege in its crudest form. Much of what we are fighting against in modern civilization is privilege. We fight against privilege when it takes the form of a franchise to a street-railway company to enjoy the use of the streets of a great city without paying an adequate return; when it takes the form of a great business combination which grows rich by rebates which are denied to other shippers; when it takes the form of a stock-gambling operation which results in the watering of railway securities so that certain inside men get an enormous profit out of a swindle on the public. All these represent various forms of illegal, or, if not illegal, then antisocial, privilege. But there can be no greater abuse, no greater example of corrupt and destructive privilege, than that advocated by those who say that each man should put into a common store what he can and take out what he needs. This is merely another way of saying that the thriftless and the vicious, who could or would put in but little, should be entitled to take out the earnings of the intelligent, the foresighted, and the industrious. Such a proposition is morally base. To choose to live by theft or by charity means in each case degradation, a rapid lowering of

self-respect and self-reliance. The worst wrongs that capitalism can commit upon labor would sink into insignificance when compared with the hideous wrong done by those who would degrade labor by sapping the foundations of self-respect and self-reliance. The Roman mob, living on the bread given them by the state and clamoring for excitement and amusement to be purveyed by the state, represent for all time the very nadir to which a free and self-respecting population of workers can sink if they grow habitually to rely upon others, and especially upon the state, either to furnish them charity, or to permit them to plunder, as a means of livelihood.

In short, it is simply common sense to recognize that there is the widest inequality of service, and that therefore there must be an equally wide inequality of reward, if our society is to rest upon the basis of justice and wisdom. Service is the true test by which a man's worth should be judged. We are against privilege in any form: privilege to the capitalist who exploits the poor man, and privilege to the shiftless or vicious poor man who would rob his thrifty brother of what he has earned. Certain exceedingly valuable forms of service are rendered wholly without capital. On the other hand, there are exceedingly valuable forms of service which can be rendered only by means of great accumulations of capital, and not to recognize this fact would be to deprive our whole people of one of the great agencies for their betterment. The test of a man's worth to the community is the service he renders to it, and we cannot afford to make this test by material considerations alone. One of the main vices of the Socialism which was propounded by Proudhon, Lassalle, and Marx, and which is preached by their disciples and

imitators, is that it is blind to everything except the merely material side of life. It is not only indifferent, but at bottom hostile, to the intellectual, the religious, the domestic and moral life; it is a form of communism with no moral foundation, but essentially based on the immediate annihilation of personal ownership of capital, and, in the near future, the annihilation of the family, and ultimately the annihilation of civilization.

2. Where We Can Work with Socialists

It is true that the doctrines of communistic Socialism, if consistently followed, mean the ultimate annihilation of civilization. Yet the converse is also true. Ruin faces us if we decline steadily to try to reshape our whole civilization in accordance with the law of service, and if we permit ourselves to be misled by any empirical or academic consideration into refusing to exert the common power of the community where only collective action can do what individualism has left undone, or can remedy the wrongs done by an unrestricted and ill-regulated individualism. There is any amount of evil in our social and industrial conditions of to-day, and unless we recognize this fact and try resolutely to do what we can to remedy the evil, we run great risk of seeing men in their misery turn to the false teachers whose doctrines would indeed lead them to greater misery, but who do at least recognize the fact that they are now miserable. At the present time there are scores of laws in the interest of labor—laws putting a stop to child labor, decreasing the hours of labor where they are excessive, putting a stop to unsanitary crowding and living, securing employers' liability, doing away with unhealthy conditions in various trades, and the like—which should be passed by the national and the

various State legislatures; and those who wish to do effective work against Socialism would do well to turn their energies into securing the enactment of these laws.

Moreover, we should always remember that Socialism is both a wide and a loose term, and that the self-styled Socialists are of many and utterly different types. If we should study only the professed apostles of radical Socialism, of what these men themselves like to call "scientific Socialism," or if we should study only what active leaders of Socialism in this country have usually done, or read only the papers in which they have usually expressed themselves, we would gain an utterly wrong impression of very many men who call themselves Socialists. There are many peculiarly high-minded men and women who like to speak of themselves as Socialists, whose attitude, conscious or unconscious, is really merely an indignant recognition of the evil of present conditions and an ardent wish to remedy it, and whose Socialism is really only an advanced form of liberalism. Many of these men and women in actual fact take a large part in the advancement of moral ideas, and in practice wholly repudiate the purely materialistic, and therefore sordid, doctrines of those Socialists whose creed really is in sharp antagonism to every principle of public and domestic morality, who war on private property with a bitterness but little greater than that with which they war against the institutions of the home and the family, and against every form of religion, Catholic or Protestant. The Socialists of this moral type may in practice be very good citizens indeed, with whom we can at many points co-operate. They are often joined temporarily with what are called the "opportunist Socialists"—those who may advocate an im-

possible and highly undesirable Utopia as a matter of abstract faith, but who in practice try to secure the adoption only of some given principle which will do away with some phase of existing wrong. With these two groups of Socialists it is often possible for all far-sighted men to join heartily in the effort to secure a given reform or do away with a given abuse. Probably, in practice, wherever and whenever Socialists of these two types are able to form themselves into a party, they will disappoint both their own expectations and the fears of others by acting very much like other parties, like other aggregations of men; and it will be safe to adopt whatever they advance that is wise, and to reject whatever they advance that is foolish, just as we have to do as regards countless other groups who on one issue or set of issues come together to strive for a change in the political or social conditions of the world we live in. The important thing is generally the next step. We ought not to take it unless we are sure that it is advisable; but we should not hesitate to take it when once we are sure; and we can safely join with others who also wish to take it, without bothering our heads overmuch as to any somewhat fantastic theories they may have concerning, say, the two hundredth step, which is not yet in sight.

There are many schemes proposed which their enemies, and a few of their friends, are pleased to call Socialistic, or which are indorsed and favored by men who call themselves Socialists, but which are entitled each to be considered on its merits with regard only to the practical advantage which each would confer. Every public man, every reformer, is bound to refuse to dismiss these schemes with the shallow statement that they are "Socialistic"; for such an attitude is one of

mere mischievous dogmatism. There are communities in which our system of State education is still resisted and condemned as Socialism; and we have seen within the past two years in this country men who were themselves directors in national banks, which were supervised by the government, object to such supervision of railways by the government on the ground that it was "Socialistic." An employers' liability law is no more Socialistic than a fire department; the regulation of railway rates is by no means as Socialistic as the digging and enlarging of the Erie Canal at the expense of the State. A proper compensation law would merely distribute over the entire industry the shock of accident or disease, instead of limiting it to the unfortunate individual on whom, through no fault of his, it happened to fall. As communities become more thickly settled and their lives more complex, it grows ever more and more necessary for some of the work formerly performed by individuals, each for himself, to be performed by the community for the community as a whole. Isolated farms need no complicated system of sewerage; but this does not mean that public control of sewerage in a great city should be resisted on the ground that it tends toward Socialism. Let each proposition be treated on its own merits, soberly and cautiously, but without any of that rigidity of mind which fears all reform. If, for instance, the question arises as to the establishment of day nurseries for the children of mothers who work in factories, the obvious thing to do is to approach it with an open mind, listen to the arguments for and against, and, if necessary, try the experiment in actual practice. If it is alleged that small groups of farmers have prospered by doing much of their work in common, and by a kind of mutual insurance and supervision, why of

course we should look into the matter with an open mind, and try to find out, not what we want the facts to be, but what the facts really are.

We cannot afford to subscribe to the doctrine, equally hard and foolish, that the welfare of the children in the tenement-house district is no concern of the community as a whole. If the child of the thronged city cannot live in decent surroundings, have teaching, have room to play, have good water and clean air, then not only will he suffer, but in the next generation the whole community will to a greater or less degree share his suffering.

In striving to better our industrial life we must ever keep in mind that, while we cannot afford to neglect its material side, we can even less afford to disregard its moral and intellectual side. Each of us is bound to remember that he is in very truth his brother's keeper, and that his duty is, with judgment and common sense, to try to help the brother. To the base and greedy attitude of mind which adopts as its motto, "What is thine is mine," we oppose the doctrine of service, the doctrine that insists that each of us, in no hysterical manner, but with common sense and good judgment, and without neglect of his or her own interests, shall yet act on the saying: "What is mine I will in good measure make thine also."

Socialism strives to remedy what is evil alike in domestic and in economic life, and its tendency is to insist that the economic remedy is all-sufficient in every case. We should all join in the effort to do away with the evil; but we should refuse to have anything to do with remedies which are either absurd or mischievous, for such, of course, would merely aggravate the present suffering. The first thing to recognize is that, while

economic reform is often vital, it is never all-sufficient. The moral reform, the change of character—in which law can sometimes play a large, but never the largest, part—is the most necessary of all. In dealing with the marriage relation the Socialist attitude is one of unmixed evil. Assuredly woman should be guarded and honored in every way, her rights jealously upheld, and any wrong done her should be regarded and punished with severe judgment; but we must keep in mind the obvious fact that equality of consideration does not mean identity of function. Our effort should be to raise the level of self-respect, self-control, sense of duty in both sexes, and not to push both down to an evil equality of moral turpitude by doing away with the self-restraint and sense of obligation which have been slowly built up through the ages. We must bring them to a moral level by raising the lower standard, not by depressing the high. It is idle to prattle against the "economic dependence" of woman upon man. In the ideal household—an ideal which I believe, though very far from being universally realized, is yet now more generally realized than ever before—there is really complete economic interdependence, as well as the high spiritual and moral interdependence which is more nearly attained in happy wedlock, in a permanent partnership of love and duty, than in any other relation of life which the world has yet seen. Rights should be forfeited by neither partner; and duties should be shirked by neither partner. The duty of the woman to be the child-bearer and home-keeper is just as obvious, simple, and healthful as the duty of the man to be the bread-winner and, if necessary, the soldier. Whenever either the man or the woman loses the power or the will to perform these obvious duties, the loss is irreparable,

and, whatever may be the gain in ease, amiable softness, self-indulgent pleasure, or even artistic and material achievement, the whole civilization is rotten and must fall.

So with our industrial system. In many respects the wage system can be bettered; but screaming about "wage slavery" is largely absurd; at this moment, for instance, I am a "wage slave" of *The Outlook*. Under certain conditions and in certain cases the co-operative system can to a greater or less degree be substituted with advantage for, or, more often, can be used to supplement, the wage system; but only on condition of recognizing the widely different needs occasioned by different conditions, which needs are so diverse that they must sometimes be met in totally different ways.

We should do everything that can be done, by law or otherwise, to keep the avenues of occupation, of employment, of work, of interest, so open that there shall be, so far as it is humanly possible to achieve it, a measurable equality of opportunity; an equality of opportunity for each man to show the stuff that is in him. When it comes to reward, let each man, within the limits set by a sound and far-sighted morality, get what, by his energy, intelligence, thrift, courage, he is able to get, with the opportunity open. We must set our faces against privilege; just as much against the kind of privilege which would let the shiftless and lazy laborer take what his brother has earned as against the privilege which allows the huge capitalist to take toll to which he is not entitled. We stand for equality of opportunity, but not for equality of reward unless there is also equality of service. If the service is equal, let the reward be equal; but let the reward depend on the service; and, mankind being composed as it is, there

will be inequality of service for a long time to come, no matter how great the equality of opportunity may be; and just so long as there is inequality of service it is eminently desirable that there should be inequality of reward.

We recognize, and are bound to war against, the evils of to-day. The remedies are partly economic and partly spiritual, partly to be obtained by laws, and in greater part to be obtained by individual and associated effort; for character is the vital matter, and character cannot be created by law. These remedies include a religious and moral teaching which shall increase the spirit of human brotherhood; an educational system which shall train men for every form of useful service—and which shall train us to prize common sense no less than morality; such a division of the profits of industry as shall tend to encourage intelligent and thrifty tool-users to become tool-owners; and a government so strong, just, wise, and democratic that, neither lagging too far behind nor pushing heedlessly in advance, it may do its full share in promoting these ends.

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THE MAN WITH THE MUCK-RAKE *

Over a century ago Washington laid the corner-stone of the Capitol in what was then little more than a tract of wooded wilderness here beside the Potomac. We now find it necessary to provide by great additional buildings for the business of the government. This growth in the need for the housing of the government is but a proof and example of the way in which the nation has grown and the sphere of action of the National Government has grown. We now administer the affairs of a nation in which the extraordinary growth of population has been outstripped by the growth of wealth and the growth in complex interests. The material problems that face us to-day are not such as they were in Washington's time, but the underlying facts of human nature are the same now as they were then. Under altered external form we war with the same tendencies toward evil that were evident in Washington's time, and are helped by the same tendencies for good. It is about some of these that I wish to say a word to-day.

In Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" you may recall the description of the Man with the Muck-rake, the man who could look no way but downward, with the muck-rake in his hand; who was offered a celestial crown for his muck-rake, but who would neither look up nor regard the crown he was offered, but continued to rake to himself the filth of the floor.

* Address at the laying of the corner-stone of the office-building of the House of Representatives, Saturday, April 14, 1906.

In "Pilgrim's Progress" the Man with the Muck-rake is set forth as the example of him whose vision is fixed on carnal instead of on spiritual things. Yet he also typifies the man who in this life consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing. Now, it is very necessary that we should not flinch from seeing what is vile and debasing. There is filth on the floor, and it must be scraped up with the muck-rake; and there are times and places where this service is the most needed of all the services that can be performed. But the man who never does anything else, who never thinks or speaks or writes, save of his feats with the muck-rake, speedily becomes, not a help to society, not an incitement to good, but one of the most potent forces for evil.

There are, in the body politic, economic and social, many and grave evils, and there is urgent necessity for the sternest war upon them. There should be relentless exposure of and attack upon every evil man whether politician or business man, every evil practice, whether in politics, in business, or in social life. I hail as a benefactor every writer or speaker, every man who, on the platform, or in book, magazine, or newspaper, with merciless severity makes such attack, provided always that he in his turn remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful. The liar is no whit better than the thief, and if his mendacity takes the form of slander, he may be worse than most thieves. It puts a premium upon knavery untruthfully to attack an honest man, or even with hysterical exaggeration to assail a bad man with untruth. An epidemic of indiscriminate assault upon character does not good, but very great harm. The soul of every scoundrel is

gladdened whenever an honest man is assailed, or even when a scoundrel is untruthfully assailed.

Now, it is easy to twist out of shape what I have just said, easy to affect to misunderstand it, and, if it is slurred over in repetition, not difficult really to misunderstand it. Some persons are sincerely incapable of understanding that to denounce mud-slinging does not mean the indorsement of whitewashing; and both the interested individuals who need whitewashing, and those others who practise mud-slinging, like to encourage such confusion of ideas. One of the chief counts against those who make indiscriminate assault upon men in business or men in public life, is that they invite a reaction which is sure to tell powerfully in favor of the unscrupulous scoundrel who really ought to be attacked, who ought to be exposed, who ought, if possible, to be put in the penitentiary. If Aristides is praised overmuch as just, people get tired of hearing it; and overcensure of the unjust finally and from similar reasons results in their favor.

Any excess is almost sure to invite a reaction; and, unfortunately, the reaction, instead of taking the form of punishment of those guilty of the excess, is very apt to take the form either of punishment of the unoffending or of giving immunity, and even strength, to offenders. The effort to make financial or political profit out of the destruction of character can only result in public calamity. Gross and reckless assaults on character, whether on the stump or in newspaper, magazine, or book, create a morbid and vicious public sentiment, and at the same time act as a profound deterrent to able men of normal sensitiveness and tend to prevent them from entering the public service at any price. As an instance in point, I may mention that one serious

difficulty encountered in getting the right type of men to dig the Panama Canal is the certainty that they will be exposed, both without, and, I am sorry to say, sometimes within, Congress, to utterly reckless assaults on their character and capacity.

At the risk of repetition let me say again that my plea is, not for immunity to but for the most unsparing exposure of the politician who betrays his trust, of the big business man who makes or spends his fortune in illegitimate or corrupt ways. There should be a resolute effort to hunt every such man out of the position he has disgraced. Expose the crime, and hunt down the criminal; but remember that even in the case of crime, if it is attacked in sensational, lurid, and untruthful fashion, the attack may do more damage to the public mind than the crime itself. It is because I feel that there should be no rest in the endless war against the forces of evil that I ask that the war be conducted with sanity as well as with resolution. The men with the muck-rakes are often indispensable to the well-being of society; but only if they know when to stop raking the muck, and to look upward to the celestial crown above them, to the crown of worthy endeavor. There are beautiful things above and roundabout them; and if they gradually grow to feel that the whole world is nothing but muck, their power of usefulness is gone. If the whole picture is painted black there remains no hue whereby to single out the rascals for distinction from their fellows. Such painting finally induces a kind of moral color-blindness; and people affected by it come to the conclusion that no man is really black, and no man really white, but they are all gray. In other words, they neither believe in the truth of the attack, nor in the honesty of the man who is at-

tacked; they grow as suspicious of the accusation as of the offense; it becomes well-nigh hopeless to stir them either to wrath against wrong-doing or to enthusiasm for what is right; and such a mental attitude in the public gives hope to every knave, and is the despair of honest men.

To assail the great and admitted evils of our political and industrial life with such crude and sweeping generalizations as to include decent men in the general condemnation means the searing of the public conscience. There results a general attitude either of cynical belief in and indifference to public corruption or else of a distrustful inability to discriminate between the good and the bad. Either attitude is fraught with untold damage to the country as a whole. The fool who has not sense to discriminate between what is good and what is bad is well-nigh as dangerous as the man who does discriminate and yet chooses the bad. There is nothing more distressing to every good patriot, to every good American, than the hard, scoffing spirit which treats the allegation of dishonesty in a public man as a cause for laughter. Such laughter is worse than the crackling of thorns under a pot, for it denotes not merely the vacant mind, but the heart in which high emotions have been choked before they could grow to fruition.

There is any amount of good in the world, and there never was a time when loftier and more disinterested work for the betterment of mankind was being done than now. The forces that tend for evil are great and terrible, but the forces of truth and love and courage and honesty and generosity and sympathy are also stronger than ever before. It is a foolish and timid, no less than a wicked, thing to blink the fact that the forces of evil are strong, but it is even worse to fail to

take into account the strength of the forces that tell for good. Hysterical sensationalism is the very poorest weapon wherewith to fight for lasting righteousness. The men who with stern sobriety and truth assail the many evils of our time, whether in the public press, or in magazines, or in books, are the leaders and allies of all engaged in the work for social and political betterment. But if they give good reason for distrust of what they say, if they chill the ardor of those who demand truth as a primary virtue, they thereby betray the good cause, and play into the hands of the very men against whom they are nominally at war.

In his "Ecclesiastical Polity" that fine old Elizabethan divine, Bishop Hooker, wrote:

"He that goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favorable hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of regimen is subject, but the secret lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider."

This truth should be kept constantly in mind by every free people desiring to preserve the sanity and poise indispensable to the permanent success of self-government. Yet, on the other hand, it is vital not to permit this spirit of sanity and self-command to degenerate into mere mental stagnation. Bad though a state of hysterical excitement is, and evil though the results are which come from the violent oscillations such excitement invariably produces, yet a sodden acquiescence in evil is even worse. At this moment we are passing through a period of great unrest—social, political, and industrial unrest. It is of the utmost im-

portance for our future that this should prove to be not the unrest of mere rebelliousness against life, of mere dissatisfaction with the inevitable inequality of conditions, but the unrest of a resolute and eager ambition to secure the betterment of the individual and the nation. So far as this movement of agitation throughout the country takes the form of a fierce discontent with evil, of a determination to punish the authors of evil, whether in industry or politics, the feeling is to be heartily welcomed as a sign of healthy life.

If, on the other hand, it turns into a mere crusade of appetite against appetite, of a contest between the brutal greed of the "have-nots" and the brutal greed of the "haves," then it has no significance for good, but only for evil. If it seeks to establish a line of cleavage, not along the line which divides good men from bad, but along that other line, running at right angles thereto, which divides those who are well off from those who are less well off, then it will be fraught with immeasurable harm to the body politic.

We can no more and no less afford to condone evil in the man of capital than evil in the man of no capital. The wealthy man who exults because there is a failure of justice in the effort to bring some trust magnate to an account for his misdeeds is as bad as, and no worse than, the so-called labor leader who clamorously strives to excite a foul class feeling on behalf of some other labor leader who is implicated in murder. One attitude is as bad as the other, and no worse; in each case the accused is entitled to exact justice; and in neither case is there need of action by others which can be construed into an expression of sympathy for crime.

It is a prime necessity that if the present unrest is to result in permanent good the emotion shall be trans-

lated into action, and that the action shall be marked by honesty, sanity, and self-restraint. There is mighty little good in a mere spasm of reform. The reform that counts is that which comes through steady, continuous growth; violent emotionalism leads to exhaustion.

It is important to this people to grapple with the problems connected with the amassing of enormous fortunes, and the use of those fortunes, both corporate and individual, in business. We should discriminate in the sharpest way between fortunes well-won and fortunes ill-won; between those gained as an incident to performing great services to the community as a whole, and those gained in evil fashion by keeping just within the limits of mere law-honesty. Of course no amount of charity in spending such fortunes in any way compensates for misconduct in making them. As a matter of personal conviction, and without pretending to discuss the details or formulate the system, I feel that we shall ultimately have to consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of a progressive tax on all fortunes, beyond a certain amount, either given in life or devised or bequeathed upon death to any individual—a tax so framed as to put it out of the power of the owner of one of these enormous fortunes to hand on more than a certain amount to any one individual; the tax, of course, to be imposed by the National and not the State Government. Such taxation should, of course, be aimed merely at the inheritance or transmission in their entirety of those fortunes swollen beyond all healthy limits.

Again, the National Government must in some form exercise supervision over corporations engaged in interstate business—and all large corporations are engaged in interstate business—whether by license or otherwise,

so as to permit us to deal with the far-reaching evils of overcapitalization. This year we are making a beginning in the direction of serious effort to settle some of these economic problems by the railway-rate legislation. Such legislation, if so framed, as I am sure it will be, as to secure definite and tangible results, will amount to something of itself; and it will amount to a great deal more in so far as it is taken as a first step in the direction of a policy of superintendence and control over corporate wealth engaged in interstate commerce, this superintendence and control not to be exercised in a spirit of malevolence toward the men who have created the wealth, but with the firm purpose both to do justice to them and to see that they in their turn do justice to the public at large.

The first requisite in the public servants who are to deal in this shape with corporations, whether as legislators or as executives, is honesty. This honesty can be no respecter of persons. There can be no such thing as unilateral honesty. The danger is not really from corrupt corporations; it springs from the corruption itself, whether exercised for or against corporations.

The eighth commandment reads: "Thou shalt not steal." It does not read: "Thou shalt not steal from the rich man." It does not read: "Thou shalt not steal from the poor man." It reads simply and plainly: "Thou shalt not steal." No good whatever will come from that warped and mock morality which denounces the misdeeds of men of wealth and forgets the misdeeds practised at their expense; which denounces bribery, but blinds itself to blackmail; which foams with rage if a corporation secures favors by improper methods, and merely leers with hideous mirth if the corporation is itself wronged. The only public servant who can be

trusted honestly to protect the rights of the public against the misdeed of a corporation is that public man who will just as surely protect the corporation itself from wrongful aggression. If a public man is willing to yield to popular clamor and do wrong to the men of wealth or to rich corporations, it may be set down as certain that if the opportunity comes he will secretly and furtively do wrong to the public in the interest of a corporation.

But, in addition to honesty, we need sanity. No honesty will make a public man useful if that man is timid or foolish, if he is a hot-headed zealot or an impracticable visionary. As we strive for reform we find that it is not at all merely the case of a long up-hill pull. On the contrary, there is almost as much of breeching work as of collar work; to depend only on traces means that there will soon be a runaway and an upset. The men of wealth who to-day are trying to prevent the regulation and control of their business in the interest of the public by the proper government authorities will not succeed, in my judgment, in checking the progress of the movement. But if they did succeed they would find that they had sown the wind and would surely reap the whirlwind, for they would ultimately provoke the violent excesses which accompany a reform coming by convulsion instead of by steady and natural growth.

On the other hand, the wild preachers of unrest and discontent, the wild agitators against the entire existing order, the men who act crookedly, whether because of sinister design or from mere puzzle-headedness, the men who preach destruction without proposing any substitute for what they intend to destroy, or who propose a substitute which would be far worse than the existing evils—all these men are the most dangerous opponents

of real reform. If they get their way they will lead the people into a deeper pit than any into which they could fall under the present system. If they fail to get their way they will still do incalculable harm by provoking the kind of reaction which, in its revolt against the senseless evil of their teaching, would enthrone more securely than ever the very evils which their misguided followers believe they are attacking.

More important than aught else is the development of the broadest sympathy of man for man. The welfare of the wage-worker, the welfare of the tiller of the soil, upon these depend the welfare of the entire country; their good is not to be sought in pulling down others; but their good must be the prime object of all our statesmanship.

Materially we must strive to secure a broader economic opportunity for all men, so that each shall have a better chance to show the stuff of which he is made. Spiritually and ethically we must strive to bring about clean living and right thinking. We appreciate that the things of the body are important; but we appreciate also that the things of the soul are immeasurably more important. The foundation-stone of national life is, and ever must be, the high individual character of the average citizen.

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A REMEDY FOR SOME FORMS OF SELFISH LEGISLATION *

THE August number of the *World's Work* contains an article which is of interest to all who are concerned in the vital subject to which we give the somewhat foggy title of "Political Reform." The article, for obvious reasons anonymous, is written by a member of Congress who, the editors of the *World's Work* say, has served for more than ten years in the House of Representatives, has acted on many important committees, and has been successful in "getting things" for his constituency. The article is described as "showing the reason why the 'pork-barrel,' special tariff favors, and private pension bills become law," the reason being, to quote the words of the author, that "the dictum of the constituency to the Congressmen is, 'Get all you can for US.' There are no restrictions placed upon his method of getting it. . . . Until the American people themselves become more National and less local, until constituencies cease to regard their Congressmen as solicitors at the National Treasury, Congress will continue to enact iniquitous groups of local favors into National legislation."

This serious charge against the American people—for which there is unquestionably altogether too much justification—the author proceeds to substantiate by relating some of his own experiences with constituents

* *The Outlook*, August 6, 1910.

which, however surprising they may seem to the general reader, will seem almost commonplace to all who know how the average constituency does in actual practice treat its congressman.

The writer sets forth the fact that, in the first place, ninety per cent of the letters which a congressman receives are requests for special favors to be obtained in some way or other, directly or indirectly, from the United States Treasury. For instance, while the Payne-Aldrich tariff law was under discussion, this particular congressman received in May, 1909, the following letter from the secretary of a powerful commercial association in his district:

"I have been instructed by the board of directors of this association to advise you that at special meeting May 20, a resolution, copy of which is enclosed, was unanimously adopted, urging our Representatives in Congress to use every endeavor to have the present tariff on [mentioning three of the products of the industries referred to] increased one cent per pound and the present tariff on [mentioning the other two products] increased half a cent per pound. I wish to further advise you that we have heard from Senator —— and he informs us that he will take care of this matter in the Senate."

When the bill was finally passed, the congressman succeeded in adding half a cent a pound to the duty on two of these products and in preventing any reduction on the others. A year later, when the popular clamor against the bill had become acute, the same association that had asked him to vote for increases wrote to the congressman denouncing the bill as "the most iniquitous measure ever enacted by Congress" and requesting him to explain by letter why he had voted with "the

Reactionaries" to pass the bill. When it was pointed out to the association that it had urged the congressman to obtain an increase of duty on the products in which it was interested, it dropped its demand for an explanation. An influential newspaper published in his district editorially commended him while the bill was under debate for his "intelligent efforts" to increase the duty on manufactured articles in which the district was interested, and a year later the same newspaper in the same editorial column denounced him as one of "the legislative banditti responsible for the Payne-Aldrich measure."

As with the tariff, so with pensions; the congressman is urged to obtain local favors without regard to national interests. This is illustrated by the following letter, which the author prints, and which was written by the clergyman of a large and wealthy church:

"*My dear Congressman:* I received a call from James H. —— several days ago, and he told me that he had received a very unsatisfactory letter from you regarding his chances for getting a pension. Now, Congressman, while I know he deserted during the second year of the war, yet there must be some way the matter can be covered up and —— be given a pensionable status. He is at present a charge on my congregation. Every one seems to be able to get a pension. Why not he? Do what you can for him, and oblige."

It may be said that this is a unique instance from which it is unfair to draw a general inference. The confessing congressman answers, No; that he has "hundreds of such letters filed away. So has every other Congressman."

River and harbor legislation is another field in which local selfishness busies itself, to the exclusion of national

needs. In this case requests are not made by letter but by delegations which come to Washington besieging their senators and representatives. "There is," says the frank writer of this article, "figuratively speaking, between $50,000,000 and $60,000,000 on the table to be divided. The Committee divides it so that every one is satisfied, at least to a reasonable extent." Every one, that is, but the people at large, the people who have no special interest to serve, and who feel keenly indignant that the rivers and harbors of the United States are developed in a fashion so inferior to that of Europe.

Nor are all the requests for legislation merely. One constituent desired to have this particular congressman put his name on the free mailing-list for all public documents. That this would be impossible, because it would mean delivering to the applicant several tons of documents every month, does not in the slightest detract from the interest of the fact elicited by an investigation that the applicant was the manufacturer of an article made from waste paper, and the public documents would afford a very useful source of raw material.

Is there a remedy for such a state of things? The answer is, Yes; and, moreover, it is a remedy which Congress can itself immediately provide.

There is no complete remedy, of course. No scheme can be devised which can prevent such a request as that of the constituent last named who wished public documents to use in his private paper business. Requests like this merely mean that in every district individuals will always be found who will request improper favors. As regards these people, all that can be done is to create a vigorous public opinion—an opinion which shall not only make it uncomfortable for any man to demand

such favors, but which shall cordially support the congressman in refusing them and hold him accountable for granting them. We must trust to individual integrity to resist such individual and sporadic attempts to corrupt it.

The case is entirely different when we come to the other favors mentioned. These favors are those which the congressman describes as being improperly, habitually, and insistently demanded by large portions of a given constituency, with at least the acquiescence of the constituency as a whole. It is futile to expect to cure this type of evil merely by solemnly saying that each congressman ought to be good. It is futile to ask the average congressman to cut his own throat by disregarding the requests of his own constituents for special and improper favors in the matter of tariff legislation, river and harbor legislation, and pension legislation; even though these same constituents adopt the beautifully illogical position of expressing a great—and, curiously enough, often a sincere—indignation that their congressman, as the only means of securing for them what they insist he shall secure, joins with other congressmen in granting for all other constituencies the same improper favors which are eagerly demanded by his own individual constituency. Moreover, under the present system, the small man, when he asks for something in which his own district is keenly interested, is told by the big man who represents the big interest that he can't have his little favor granted unless he agrees to stand by those who wish to grant the big favor—and the small man may be remorselessly "held up" in this fashion, even though the small favor he asks is proper, and the big favor he is required to grant entirely improper. When such is the pressure upon the average

representative, there is certain to be more or less yielding on his part, in the great majority of cases. It is idle to hope that reform will come through mere denunciation of the average congressman, or by merely beseeching him to reach the height of courage, wisdom, and disinterestedness achieved only by the exceptional man; by the man who is so brave and far-seeing and high-minded that he really will think only of the interests of the country as a whole.

On the other hand, it is just as idle for congressmen to seek to excuse themselves as a body by uttering jeremiads as to the improper way in which their constituents press them to do things that ought not to be done. The individual congressman can be excused only by frankly admitting that the fault lies with the congressmen taken collectively. The remedy is simple and easy of application.

Congress has now, and has long had, the power to rid its members of almost all the improper pressure brought to bear upon the individual by special interests—great and small, local and metropolitan—on such subjects as tariff legislation, river and harbor legislation, and pension legislation. Congress has not exercised this power, chiefly because of what I am bound to regard as a very short-sighted and unwise belief that it is beneath its dignity to delegate any of its functions. By passing a rule which would forbid the reception or passage of any pension bill save the pension legislation recommended by the commissioner of pensions (this of course to be rejected or amended as Congress saw fit, but not so amended as to include any special or private legislation), Congress would at once do away with the possibility of its members being subject to local pressure for improper private pension bills, and at the same time

guarantee proper treatment for the veteran who really does deserve to have everything done for him that the country can afford. The veteran of this stamp has no stancher friend than the commissioner of pensions; whereas he is often the very man passed over when special bills are introduced, because the less deserving men are at least as apt as the others to have political influence.

In the case of the tariff and the river and harbor legislation, what is needed in each case is ample provision for a commission of the highest possible grade, composed of men who thoroughly know the subject, and who possess every attribute required for the performance of the great and difficult task of framing in outline the legislation that the country, as distinguished from special interests, really needs. These men, from the very nature of the case, will be wholly free from the local pressure of special interests so keenly felt by every man who is dependent upon the vote of a particular district every two years for his continuance in public life. Such a river and harbor commission could report, and probably would report, a great and comprehensive national scheme for river and harbor improvements fit to be considered by the people as a whole upon its merits, and not dependent for enactment into law upon a system of log-rolling designed to placate special interests which are powerful in each of many score congressional districts. Such a tariff commission could get at the facts of labor cost here and abroad by expert inquiry, and not by the acceptance of interested testimony; such a commission could consider dispassionately the probable effect upon the entire social and economic body of all changes in any given branch of the tariff, and its recommendations would represent the

exercise of careful judgment from a disinterested standpoint. Such a commission could work in harmony with the commissioner of labor, so as to insure that the laborers for whom the tariff is passed get the full benefit of it; for the major part of the benefit of a protective tariff should unquestionably go to the wage-workers.

Even under such conditions of tariff-making errors might be committed, but they would be merely those errors of disinterested judgment incidental to every kind of public or, for the matter of that, private effort, and the work would not be hampered from the beginning by the need of gratifying private selfishness.

It is only in this way that tariff legislation, river and harbor legislation, and pension legislation can be treated from the standpoint of principle and not from the very low standpoint of privilege and preference. The obstacle hitherto to the adoption of such a method of treatment has come from the queer dislike felt by so many congressional leaders to a course of action which they (quite unjustifiably) feel would in some way be a limitation of their powers. I think this feeling is passing. It is simply another instance of the kind of feeling which makes some executives suspicious about delegating their work to any subordinate, and which makes many voters, who have not pondered the matter deeply, desire to elect great numbers of people on a ticket of such length that it is out of the question for any except professional politicians to know much about them.

As soon as business becomes at all complex—and nothing can be more complex than the business of a nation of a hundred million people—it can only be performed by delegating to experts the duty of dealing with all that can properly be delegated. It is only by such delegation that it is possible to secure the proper

consideration of the exceedingly important business which cannot properly be delegated. The voters, as a whole, for instance, must necessarily declare directly upon all really vital issues, and they should do this when the issue is a man just as much as when the issue is one of legislation. Indeed, in my judgment, there are certain matters, as to which the voters do not at present have the chance of thus acting directly, where it is important that the chance be given them. But they can only exercise such choice with wisdom and benefit where it is vitally necessary to exercise it, on condition of not being confused by the requirement of exercising it in the great multitude of cases where there is no such necessity, and where they can with advantage delegate the duty to the man they deem most fit to do the business.

What is true of the voters is equally true of legislators and administrators the moment that their tasks become sufficiently complex. The village constable in a small community can do all his work directly. But the President of the United States can do his work at all only by delegating the enormous mass of it to his appointees, and by confining his own share of the purely administrative work largely to supervision and direction of these employees. When a President appoints a commission to investigate such a vital matter as, for instance, country life, or the conservation of natural resources, he does not abdicate his own authority; he merely faces the fact that by no possibility can he himself do this important piece of work as well as experts whom he appoints to devote their whole time to that purpose. Now, Congress can with wisdom act in such matters of prime legislative importance as the tariff and river and harbor improvement, in the same way

that the President acts in such matters of prime administrative importance as country life and conservation. It no more represents abdication of power on the part of Congress to appoint a first-class tariff commission than it represents abdication of power on the part of the President to appoint a first-class country life or conservation commission, or than it represents abdication of power on the part of voters to elect as governor a man to whom they give all possible power to do his work well. In each case the body delegating the authority, so far from abdicating the power, has secured its wise use by intrusting it to a man or men especially equipped to use it well, and this man, or these men, can in turn be held to the most rigid accountability if it is not well used, in the exclusive service of the people as a whole.

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THE CONTROVERSY WITH E. H. HARRIMAN*

My dear Sherman:

Since you left this morning I succeeded in getting hold of the letters to which I referred, and I send you a copy of Governor Odell's letter to me of December 10, 1904.

As I am entirely willing that you should show this letter to Mr. E. H. Harriman, I shall begin by repeating what you told me he said to you on the occasion last week when you went to ask him for a contribution to the campaign. You informed me that he then expressed great dissatisfaction with me, and said, in effect, that as long as I was at the head of the Republican Party or as it was dominated by the policies which I advocate and represent, he would not support it, and was quite indifferent whether Hearst beat Hughes or not, whether the Democrats carried Congress or not. He gave as a reason for his personal dislike of me partly my determination to have the railroads supervised, and partly the alleged fact that after promising him to appoint Depew Ambassador to France I failed to do it; and, I understood you to say, that he alleged that I made this promise at a time when he had come down to see me in Washington, when I requested him to raise two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the Republican Presidential campaign which was then on. Any such statement is a deliberate and wilful untruth—by rights it should be characterized by an even shorter and more ugly word. I never requested Mr. Harriman to

* Letter addressed to Hon. John S. Sherman, and dated Washington, October 8, 1906.

raise a dollar for the Presidential campaign of 1904. On the contrary, our communications as regards the campaign related exclusively to the fight being made against Mr. Higgins for Governor of New York, Mr. Harriman being immensely interested in the success of Mr. Higgins because he regarded the attack on Higgins as being really an attack on him, Mr. Harriman, and on his friend, Governor Odell; and he was concerned only in getting me to tell Mr. Cortelyou to aid Mr. Higgins so far as he could, which I gladly did. He also (I think more than once) urged me to promise to make Senator Depew Ambassador to France, giving me in detail the reason why this would help Governor Odell, by pleasing certain big financial interests. I informed him that I did not believe it would be possible for me to appoint Mr. Depew, and furthermore expressed my surprise at his saying that the men representing the big financial interests of New York wished that appointment made, inasmuch as a number of them had written to me asking that the same place be given to Mr. Hyde, and that as a matter of fact, while I was not prepared to announce any decision, I doubted whether I could appoint either Mr. Depew or Mr. Hyde to the place. As soon as Mr. Harriman heard that Mr. Hyde was a candidate and had asked the name of his backers, he hastily said that he did not wish to be understood as antagonizing Mr. Hyde and would be quite willing to support him; and though I understood that he still preferred Mr. Depew, he left me strongly under the impression that he would be almost as well satisfied with Mr. Hyde, and was much discontented at my informing him so positively, not once, but repeatedly, that I did not think I should be able to appoint either.

His and my letters now before me of the fall of 1904

run as follows. On his return from spending the summer in Europe, on September 20, he wrote me stating that if I thought it desirable he would come to see me at any time, either then or later (he had been, as you remember, a delegate to the Republican National Convention, having voted for my nomination). On September 23 I answered this letter, saying:

"At present there is nothing for me to see you about, though there were one or two points in my letter of acceptance which I should have liked to discuss with you before putting it out."

On October 10 I wrote him:

"In view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York, I should much like to have a few words with you. Do you think you can get down here within a few days and take either lunch or dinner with me?"

The trouble I spoke of had reference to the bolt against Higgins—that is, in reality against Mr. Harriman and Mr. Harriman's friend, Governor Odell. A reference to the files of the New York papers at that time will show that there was a very extensive bolt against Mr. Higgins upon the ground that Governor Odell had nominated him, and that he had in some matter favored Mr. Harriman overmuch—neither ground, in my judgment, being tenable. Mr. Harriman's backing of Governor Odell and extreme anxiety that he should win out, by securing Higgins's election, was a matter of common notoriety, and mentioned in all the papers; notably in the New York *Sun*. On October 12 Mr. Harriman wrote me:

"I am giving a very large part of my time to correcting the trouble here, and intend to do so if any effort on my part can accomplish it. . . . I will take occasion the first of next week to run down to see you, and think

by that time the conditions will be very much improved."

After receiving this letter I wrote Mr. Harriman the following letter, which I give in full:

"Personal.

"*My dear Mr. Harriman:* "October 14, 1904

"A suggestion has come to me in a roundabout way that you do not think it wise to come on to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse, inasmuch as I have asked you. Now, my dear sir, you and I are practical men, and you are on the ground and know the conditions better than I do. If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or no matter in which I could give aid, why, of course give up the visit for the time being, and then a few weeks hence before I write my message I shall get you to come down to discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign.

"With great regard,

"Sincerely yours."

You will see that this letter is absolutely incompatible with any theory that I was asking Mr. Harriman to come down to see me in my own interest, or intended to make any request of any kind for help from him. On the contrary, all I was concerned with in seeing him was to know if I could be of help in securing the election of Mr. Higgins—a man for whom I had the highest respect, and who I believed would be, as in fact he has been, a most admirable Governor.

Moreover, the following letter will show that Mr. Harriman did not have in his mind any idea of my ask-

ing him to collect money, and that, on the contrary, what he was concerned about in connection with my letter to him was the allusion I made to the fact that I would like to see him before I wrote my message to discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign. His letter, which is of November 30, runs as follows:

"*Dear Mr. President:*

"I just have had a telephone talk with Mr. Loeb, and requested him to give you a message from me.

"I drew his attention to the last paragraph of your letter to me of October 14 last, and explained that of course I did not want to make a trip to Washington unless it should be necessary; that the only matter I knew of, and about which I had any apprehension, and which might be referred to in your coming message to Congress, is that regarding the Interstate Commerce Commission, and what the attitude of the railroads should be toward it.

"I have communications from many conservative men in the West, asking me to take the matter up, they having, which I have not, information as to what you propose to say in your message on that subject, and I am very apprehensive about it.

"Mr. Loeb stated he believed that this part of the message could be sent to me, and I hope that he will do so. I sincerely believe it would be best for all interests that no reference be made to the subject, and in any event if referred to in such a way as not to bring about increased agitation. It is, as you well know, the conservative element, and the one on which we all rely, which is the most seldom heard from.

"Yours sincerely."

This letter to me was crossed by one from me, which reads as follows:

"Strictly Personal.

"November 30, 1904.

"*My dear Mr. Harriman:*

"Mr. Loeb tells me that you called me up to-day on the telephone and recalled my letter to you of October 14, in which I spoke to you of a desire to see you before sending in my message, as I wanted to go over with you certain governmental matters, and you added that you had heard that I had referred to the Interstate Commerce Commission; that you regretted this and wished I had left it out. In writing to you I had in view, especially, certain matters connected with currency legislation, and had not thought of discussing railroad matters with you. However, if it had occurred to me, I should have been delighted to do so; but if you remember when you were down here both you and I were so interested in certain of the New York political developments that I hardly, if at all, touched on governmental matters. As regards what I have said in my message about the Interstate Commerce Commission, while, as I say, I should have been delighted to go over it with you, I must also frankly say that my mind was definitely made up. Certain revelations connected with the investigation of the beef trust caused me to write the paragraph in question. I went with extreme care over the information in possession of the Interstate Commerce Commission and of the Bureau of Corporations before writing it. I then went over the written paragraph again and again with Paul Morton, who is of all my Cabinet the most familiar with railroad matters, of course, and with Root, Knox, Taft, and Moody. It is a matter I had been carefully considering for two years,

and had been gradually, though reluctantly, coming to the conclusion that it is unwise and unsafe from every standpoint to leave the question of rebates where it now is, and to fail to give the Interstate Commerce Commission additional power of an effective kind in regulating these rates.

"Let me repeat that I did not have this question in mind when I asked you to come down, but that I should most gladly have talked it over with you if it had occurred to me to do so; but, as a matter of fact, as you will remember, when you did come down to see me, you and I were both so engaged in the New York political situation that we talked of little else; and finally that the position I have taken has not been taken lightly, but after thinking over the matter and looking at it from different standpoints for at least two years, and after the most careful consultation with Morton, Taft, Moody, Knox, and Root as to the exact phraseology I should use.

"I do not send you a copy, simply because I have given no one a copy, not even the men above mentioned. It is impossible if I give out copies of any portions of my message to prevent the message being known in advance; and the three press associations who now have the message are under a heavy penalty not to disclose a word of it before the appointed time.

"Sincerely yours."

On December 2 he wrote me the following letter on the same subject:

"*Dear Mr. President:*

"Thank you for your favor of the 30th.

"It was natural for me to suppose that railroad mat-

ters would be included in any discussion you and I might have before writing your message. I am of the opinion that an effective Interstate Commerce Commission could regulate the matter of rebates, and absolutely prevent the same, without any additional power of any kind, and, as you say, Paul Morton is more familiar with such matters than any one else in your Cabinet, and I believe he will agree with me in this. I fear there has been a lack of co-operation.

"During the enormous development of the last four years, the railroads have found it very hard to keep pace with the requirements imposed upon them, and the so-called surplus earnings, as well as additional capital, have been devoted to providing additional facilities and the bettering and enlarging of their properties, so as to give the increased and better service required of them. This work of betterment and enlargement must go on, and is all-important for the proper development of all sections of the country. There is little doubt that during the next decade every single-track railroad in the country will have to be double-tracked and provide enlarged terminal and other facilities, and any move that will tend to cripple them financially would be detrimental to all interests over the whole country.

"I beg that you will pardon my not signing this personally, as I have to leave to catch my train for Arden, and have asked my secretary to sign it for me.

"Yours sincerely."

I was unable to agree with Mr. Harriman's views on the matter, and left my message unchanged as regards the interstate commerce law. (The rough draft of this portion of the message was completed in October, be-

fore the election.) I had always discussed with absolute freedom all my proposed moves in the trust and labor matters with the representatives of the big combinations or big railroads, as well as with the leaders of the labor men, of the farmers' organizations, the shippers' organizations, and the like—that is, I had as freely seen and communicated with Mr. Harriman, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hill, and other railroad men as I had seen and communicated with Mr. Gompers, Mr. Keefe, Mr. Morrissey, Mr. Morrison, and other labor leaders. Mr. Harriman had, like most of the big railroad men, always written me very strongly protesting against my proposed course as regards the supervision and control over big combinations, and especially over the big railroads—in a letter of his of August 19, 1902, for instance, he expressed the fear that a panic would follow my proposed action.

It will be seen that the above correspondence is entirely incompatible with what Mr. Harriman now, as you inform me, alleges as to my having asked him to secure money or to subscribe money for the Presidential campaign.* As for the Depew matter, he professed

* The following correspondence appeared in *The Outlook* of December 30, 1911:

December 15, 1911.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, Oyster Bay.

Dear Mr. Roosevelt: Ever since the election of 1904 the story has been continuously published and never denied, except by you, that you asked Mr. E. H. Harriman to contribute money to aid in your election, and that he thereupon raised or contributed $250,000 to the National Committee fund. Knowing this to be untrue, I several times suggested to my superior officer, Mr. C. N. Bliss, then Treasurer of the National Committee, that the facts in the case be plainly stated. Mr. Bliss always believed that the books and accounts of the National Committee were private, and, although always carried on by him with the highest sense of integrity and honor, he never, like all of his contemporaries, would consent to any publicity. This feeling has been changed in the past few years by the laws requiring full publicity in elections. It seems, therefore, to me that now, in justice to you, the facts in the case ought to be known.

Every one knew and conceded that in the election of 1904 you would carry the State of New York by a large plurality, but it was generally believed that Mr. Higgins would be defeated. The Democrats centred their efforts on the election

throughout to be acting in the interest of Governor Odell, and though Governor Odell had been anxious that Mr. Depew should be nominated as Ambassador to France at a time when he was supporting Governor Black for Senator, he had changed his mind shortly after the last letter to me, above quoted, from Mr. Harriman, and on December 10 wrote me the letter I enclose, which reads in part as follows:

"*My dear Mr. Roosevelt:*

"A great many of your friends here in New York would be very much delighted and pleased if you could find it possible to appoint Mr. James H. Hyde as Minister to France. . . . Large business interests have given to him splendid executive abilities, and his association with so many prominent business men would be fitting recognition of the effective work done by them in the last campaign.

"In addition to this, he has behind him, I am sure, the approval of Senator Platt and Senator Depew, and,

of their candidate for Governor. About a week before the election Mr. Odell, then Chairman of the New York State Committee, came to Mr. Bliss and told him that unless he had $250,000 from the National Committee the State ticket would be defeated. Mr. Bliss told Chairman Odell that he had no money to give, but would see what could be done. He visited Mr. E. H. Harriman at his office and explained to him the urgency of the situation as told by Mr. Odell.

Mr. Harriman thereupon called up several of his friends on the telephone, and next day handed Mr. Bliss $160,000. Mr. Bliss himself raised $80,000. This sum of $240,000 was handed directly to Chairman Odell, and never in any way went into the treasury of the National Committee, which had in charge the Presidential election. I have personal knowledge of all the within-mentioned facts.

Very truly yours,

(*Signed*) GEORGE R. SHELDON,
Treasurer Republican National Committee.

THE OUTLOOK, 287 FOURTH AV., NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

December 19, 1911.

MR. GEORGE R. SHELDON,
62 Cedar Street, New York City.

Dear Mr. Sheldon: I thank you for your letter, and I am glad that it was written. There is little for me to add to what you have said. I never directly or indirectly,

so far as I can speak for the organization, I believe his appointment would be, without question, more satisfactory than any that could be made from New York at the present time.

"Personally, I should appreciate your favorable consideration of this suggestion almost beyond anything else you could do for me. If you so desire, I shall be glad to come down to Washington and talk with you about it, but I believe there are others who are close to you and who feel just as I do, and I thought therefore that this letter would be sufficient as showing the attitude of the organizations and myself personally upon this important appointment."

As you know, I was obliged to refuse the request of the New York financiers and of the Republican organizations of the State and city, not deeming it proper to appoint Mr. Hyde to the position he sought.

So much for what Mr. Harriman said about me personally. Far more important are the additional remarks he made to you, as you inform me, when you asked him if he thought it was well to see Hearstism and the like triumphant over the Republican Party. You inform me that he told you that he did not care

in any shape, way, or form, asked Mr. Harriman, or anybody else, to contribute a dollar to aid in my election. Moreover, on the only occasion on which Mr. Harriman ever spoke to me on the subject at all, he did so of his own initiative; and so far from there being any request from me to him, he made to me the request that I would aid him in getting the National Committee to contribute some of its funds for the campaign expenses of Mr. Higgins, the candidate for Governor in New York State.

He at the time stated to me that my own election was assured, that the election of Mr. Higgins, in which he was especially interested, was doubtful, and that he earnestly hoped that the National Committee would divert some of its funds from the National to the State campaign, where the need was great and where he believed the election of Mr. Higgins to be in jeopardy. As shown in your letter, this was precisely what the National Committee did.

Very truly yours,

(*Signed*) THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

in the least, because those people were crooks and he could buy them; that whenever he wanted legislation from a State Legislature he could buy it; that he "could buy Congress," and that if necessary he "could buy the judiciary." This was doubtless said partly in boastful cynicism and partly in a mere burst of bad temper because of his objection to the interstate-commerce law and to my actions as President. But it shows a cynicism and deep-seated corruption which make the man uttering such sentiments, and boasting, no matter how falsely, of his power to perform such crimes, at least as undesirable a citizen as Debs, or Moyer, or Haywood. It is because we have capitalists capable of uttering such sentiments and capable of acting on them that there is strength behind sinister agitators of the Hearst type. The wealthy corruptionist, and the demagogue who excites, in the press or on the stump, in office or out of office, class against class and appeals to the basest passions of the human soul, are fundamentally alike and are equally enemies of the Republic. I was horrified, as was Root, when you told us to-day what Harriman had said to you. As I say, if you meet him you are entirely welcome to show him this letter, although of course it must not be made public unless required by some reason of public policy, and then only after my consent has first been obtained.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

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THE SHORT BALLOT *

The time has come when we can no longer tolerate slovenly inefficiency in our government. There has been altogether too much of such slovenly inefficiency in the past in the government of nation, State, and city; and we are becoming too big, our interests are too important, our business interests and our human interests too important longer to tolerate it. And in order to get rid of such inefficiency we need to choose the right men, to have those men given ample power, and then to hold them responsible for the way they handle that power. In other words, my plea is for a system under which you will know the men that you are electing to office; under which they will have full power in office; and, third, under which you will have full power over them.

Public servants must be given ample power to enable them to do their work. Remember that. If you tie the hands of a public servant so that he cannot do ill, you tie his hands so that he cannot do well. Don't try for a moment to restrain the public man in office by shackling him. Leave his hands free. Give him the chance to do the job, and turn him out if he does not do the job well. Just as it is in private life. If I want a man under me to do a job, I will give him the power to do it, and I will say: "I want you to do that piece of work." Now if he says: "How am I to do it?" I

* Speech at Los Angeles, March 21, 1911. From manuscript in the Library of Congress.

will say: "I will take another man. I will take some one else to do it." If I am trusted to do a job, I want the power given to me and then I will be held accountable for it. But give me the chance to make or mar that job myself.

You and I cannot exercise a wise choice if we are asked to vote on a multitude of names. I want each of you to think of your own experience. If you are given a ticket with thirty or forty names to vote for, how many of them will you know anything about? You cannot know anything about them. You may know about a few men, but the ordinary citizen cannot be expected to be able to fix in his mind the identity of obscure politicians. The public servants for whom you vote should be so few in number that the people may know whom it is they are choosing to administer any particular office. A long ballot, cumbered with many names, is of all possible devices the one best adapted to give professional politicians, bread-and-butter politicians, the utmost possible advantage over ordinary citizens in the choice of public officers. The professional bread-and-butter man, whose business it is, can and will take the time to know about every man on such a ballot. It is his business, but you and I will not normally take the time. I will put it stronger than that. You and I cannot normally take the time; we cannot remember and we cannot be expected to remember the identity of a great number of individuals, no one of whom has to do a very important piece of work.

We must make the names few in number, and the work to be done by each man so important that it will rivet the attention of the ordinary man. If the ordinary citizen is awake to his own interest, he will insist

upon having a ballot upon which only a few names appear, each candidate being a candidate for an office so important as to make it reasonably certain that those who vote for him vote with a full understanding both of the man and of the office. In other words, I believe that the short ballot gives the people real instead of nominal power, and gives the man in office the power to do efficient work if he is honest and capable, and at the same time places him in such a position that, if he fails, the people will be immediately able to place the failure, and to hold accountable the man responsible for it.

One of the chief difficulties in American life in the way of getting good public service is the fact that too often we Americans tend to keep only a debit account with our public servants. Now I ask for a balance-sheet. I am not speaking jocosely, I am telling you the truth. Too often the only acts of a public servant that are commented on by the public are those the public does not like. Now a forceful man is necessarily the only kind of man who can be the best public servant. You cannot get very much out of a weakling. You want a forceful man. A forceful man is sure to do a great many things, and some of those things will be things you don't like. He will make some mistakes. Now hold the mistakes against him. Keep your debit account, but keep your credit account also. It is because our people so often fail to do this that the habit has grown in nominating conventions to seek for a dark horse, to seek for some colorless creature who has done nothing wrong because he has never done anything at all. You all put him in office with a whoop, and then turn round and, instead of blaming yourselves, blame the wretched creature himself because he has been found out, when

really it is your own fault for having put him in. Keep track of your public men who go wrong; punish every man who goes wrong; and make the public man who does right feel and understand that he has done right. That is the way to get really efficient service. When you have public officials whom you believe to be honest and intelligent and headed the right way, give them as cordial support as possible while they are engaged in the extraordinarily difficult task of achieving genuine self-government for all of us. They need your support; they need your help. Criticise them when they go wrong; but stand by them when they do right.

61

THE NEW PENOLOGY *

THERE is a growing insistence throughout the United States upon the need for drastic changes in the handling of penal institutions. The basis of the "new penology" is justice both to the prisoner and to society. It is to the interest of both that the prisoner be secured his right to proper work, health, reasonable moral and mental training, and last, but by no means least, the right to rehabilitation so far as in him lies. Any prison system that does not give these rights fails to do its duty.

One of the most objectionable points of our present prison system is the pardoning power. The question is whether it should be in charge of a pardoning board and taken away from the governor, how such a board should be constituted, whether it should be elected or appointed by the legislature or by the governor.

In the public press of January 19th last, appears an article which sets forth portions of letters from some twenty governors in answer to an inquiry made as to the said governors' experiences with the pardoning power and their recommendations. Practically without exception they advocated a board of pardons, acting either in an advisory capacity or as an actual pardoning board. In the latter case, the governor should be and always is, I think, a member of the board. The general argument of the governors is that a governor has too many important matters as the executive of the

* *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March, 1913.

State to enable him to do full justice to the petitions for pardons and commutation of sentences. Fundamentally the matter is much more serious than the incursion upon the governor's time. The sense of justice of any community is very keen and not by any means always in proportion to the facts. Particularly sensitive are our people, as they should be, to the apparent abuse of the pardoning power. The board of pardons should be deliberative and not hasty in its action. It would be subject to criticism and scrutiny of the people of the State from the standpoint only of this as its sole function. Such a pardoning board should be non-political and composed of men of high integrity and sound judgment.

Then comes the question of how this board shall be constituted. The experience of the Northern States is that a prison board appointed by the governor is preferable to an elected board. I believe that a prison board composed of three members, appointed by the governor, and appointing their own executive secretary and office staff, is advisable. If the right men are appointed they will give a large part of their time and thought to the matter. Of course conditions in different parts of the country differ, and on all such questions it is advisable that those who are seeking to solve the problem, should consult with men like Mr. A. J. McKelway, who have made a thorough study of the whole problem and who are well acquainted with prison systems and with legislative and administrative difficulties in the various States.

Then comes the question as to how best to employ the convicts. Undoubtedly the convict contract labor system should be abolished and the prisoners should be set to work to produce articles solely for governmental

consumption. The problem of the best methods of employing convicts is different in different States. Only a careful survey of conditions in any one State would enable me to answer authoritatively this particular question. Farming and outdoor life are of course advisable throughout the country. Governor Donaghey, of Arkansas, on December 27th last, performed, in my opinion, a necessary act in pardoning some three hundred convicts in order to call attention to conditions obtaining under the lease system which were intolerable. In the Southern States I know that the negro convict offers a difficult and discouraging problem. This, however, is no reason why he should be leased out. It is rather a reason why the State should particularly guard its honor by giving him such advantages as are possible under the direct administration of the State alone. The State must get away from the theory that financial profit from its prisoners is its first consideration. The protection of society is the primary purpose of imprisonment and the next purpose is reformation. The penalty must be wise and humane and the prisoner must be made, as far as possible, to be self-supporting while in prison or under imprisonment. The State should do its own farming, conduct its own industries, pay its own men, and should not take a profit from its prisoners, save in as far as they are dealt with according to the best sense of justice of the twentieth century. The State should be able to sell its products as far as possible to its own institutions and to its political subdivisions, such as the counties, cities, towns, etc. Prisoners should receive a reasonable amount for their work and should meet their own maintenance cost out of their labor. Over and above their maintenance cost (maintenance including all expenses attendant

upon running an institution or convict farm, such as salaries, wages, food, clothing, lodging, but not large improvements such as additional buildings, etc.), the surplus should be used for the prisoner or for his dependent relatives. The inability of a State to buy sufficient acreage for all its prisoners, or to conduct convict camps, or to build a prison, looks to be a very large inability only so long as the State takes profit from the sale of each prisoner to a contractor or to a lessee. If the State were absolutely prohibited from contracting or leasing out it would obviously find a way to handle its prisoners otherwise. It is all a question of emphasis and need. The State must find the money for the humane treatment of its prisoners.

At present when a man has served his term in prison he is simply turned out into the world, with his prison record barring him from honest employment and oftentimes forcing him again into crime in order that he may live. It is highly desirable that some other plan for properly handling the discharged-convict situation should be adopted. I believe the following principles to be sound:

(*a*) The period immediately following the prison period is the most crucial time for the convict. He is often an outcast without money and with most of his tendencies directing him toward his old associates.

(*b*) The State spends a considerable sum on his imprisonment; surely it can wisely spend something on his after-prison period to prevent his being again a charge on the State.

(*c*) The only method of keeping convicts under proper supervision is by parole, that is, conditional liberty under official supervision.

(*d*) The parole of negroes in the South will doubtless

be attended by greater difficulties than the parole of white men in Northern States; nevertheless, I firmly believe in it.

(*e*) The problem of the rehabilitation of prisoners, of their decent conduct during the parole period, is peculiarly a problem to be handled by a prison association or a prisoners' aid society. Such a society should co-operate with the State in developing volunteer parole workers, probation workers, taking convicts on parole, co-operating with State parole agents, paying out in instalments to paroled men the money they have earned in prison, and in general developing this supervision. If there are dependent families of prisoners, the prisoners' aid society might well be the association through which the earnings of prisoners could be paid, or the association could work in co-operation with the poor-law officials of the various counties or towns.

The fact that a prisoner can earn money while under imprisonment is the greatest incentive to right living that can be given him. A further great incentive is the indeterminate sentence whereby the prisoner earns his own way to liberty through good conduct and progress. Indeterminate sentences are found on the statutes of practically all of the more progressive States in this country.

I am a strong believer in the value of a thorough survey of prison conditions whenever a State is inclined to make radical changes in its laws. Our principal trouble in prison reform is that reforms have been patchwork. The time has come, it seems to me, for thoroughgoing studies followed by thoroughgoing reform.

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GOOD ROADS *

When we wish to use descriptive terms fit to characterize great empires and the men who made those empires great, invariably one of the terms used is to signify that that empire built good roads. When we speak of the Romans, we speak of them as rulers, as conquerors, as administrators, as road-builders. There were empires that rose overnight and fell overnight, empires whose influence was absolutely evanescent, which have passed away without leaving a trace of their former existence; but wherever the Roman established his rule the traces of that rule remain deep to-day, stamped on the language and customs of the people, or stamped in tangible form upon the soil itself. And so passing through Britain fifteen centuries and over after the dominion of Rome passed away, the Roman roads as features still remain; going through Italy, where power after power has risen, and flourished, and vanished since the days when the temporal dominion of the Roman emperors transferred its seat from Rome to Byzantium—going through Italy after the Lombard, the Goth, the Byzantine, and all the people of the Middle Ages that have ruled that country—it is the imperishable Roman road that reappears.

The faculty, the art, the habit of road-building marks in a nation those solid, stable qualities which tell for

* Address at St. Louis, Mo., before the National and International Good Roads Convention, April 29, 1903.

permanent greatness. Merely from the standpoint of historic analogy we should have a right to ask that this people which has tamed a continent, which has built up a country with a continent for its base, which boasts itself, with truth, as the mightiest republic that the world has ever seen, which I firmly believe will in the century now opening rise to a position of headship and leadership such as no other nation has ever yet attained —merely from historic analogy, I say, we should have a right to demand that such a nation build good roads. Much more have we the right to demand it from the practical standpoint. The great difference between the semibarbarism of the Middle Ages and the civilization which succeeded it was the difference between poor and good means of communication. And we to whom space is less of an obstacle than ever it was in the history of any other nation, we who have spanned a continent, who have thrust our border westward in the course of a century and a quarter until it has gone from the Atlantic to the Alleghanies, from the Alleghanies down into the valley of the Mississippi, across the great plains, over the Rockies to where the Golden Gate lets through the long heaving waters of the Pacific, and finally to Alaska, to the arctic regions, to the tropic islands of the sea—we who take so little account of mere space must see to it that the best means of nullifying the existence of space are at our command.

Of course, during the last century there has been an altogether phenomenal growth of one kind of road wholly unknown to the people of an earlier period—the iron road. The railroad is, of course, something purely modern. A great many excellent people have proceeded upon the assumption that somehow or other having good railways should be a substitute for having

good highways, good ordinary roads. A more untenable position cannot be imagined. What the railway does is to develop the country; and of course its development implies that the developed country will need more and better roads.

A few years ago it was a matter of humiliation that there should be so little attention paid to our roads; that there should be a willingness not merely to refrain from making good roads, but to let the roads that were in existence become worse. I cannot too heartily congratulate our people upon the existence of a body such as this, ramifying into every section of the country, having its connections in every State of the country, and bent upon that eminently proper work of making the conditions of life easier and better for the people whom of all others we can least afford to see grow discontented with their lot in life—the people who live in the country districts. The extraordinary, the wholly unheard-of, rate of our industrial development during the past seventy-five years, together with the good sides has had some evil sides. It is a fine thing to see our cities built up, but not at the expense of the country districts. The healthy thing to see is the building up of both the country and city go hand in hand. But we cannot expect the ablest, the most eager, the most ambitious young men to stay in the country, to stay on the farm, unless they have certain advantages. If the farm life is a life of isolation, a life in which it is a matter of great and real difficulty for one man to communicate with his neighbor, you can rest assured that there will be a tendency to leave it on the part of those very people whom we should most wish to see stay in it. It is a good thing to encourage in every way any tendency which will tend to check an unhealthy flow from the

country to the city. There are several such tendencies in evidence at present. The growth of electricity as a means of transportation tends to a certain degree to exercise a centrifugal force to offset the centripetal force of steam. Exactly as steam and electricity have tended to gather men in masses, so now electricity, as applied to the purposes which steam has so long claimed as exclusively its own, tends again to scatter out the masses. The trolley-lines that go out into the country are doing a great deal to render it more possible to live in the country and yet not to lose wholly the advantages of the town. The telephone is not to be minimized as an instrument with a tendency in the same direction; and rural free delivery is playing its part along the same lines. But no one thing can do more to offset the tendency toward an unhealthy growth from the country into the city than the making and keeping of good roads. They are needed for the sake of their effect upon the industrial conditions of the country districts; and I am almost tempted to say they are needed for the sake of social conditions in the country districts. If winter means to the average farmer the existence of a long line of liquid morasses through which he is to move his goods if bent on business, or to wade and swim if bent on pleasure; if winter means that after an ordinary rain the farmer boy or girl cannot use his or her bicycle; if a little heavy weather means a stoppage of all communication not only with industrial centres but with the neighbors, you must expect that there will be a great many young people of both sexes who will not find farm life attractive. It is for this reason that I feel the work you are doing is so pre-eminently one in the interest of the nation as a whole. I congratulate you upon the fact that you are doing it. In our American

life it would be hard to overestimate the amount of good that has been accomplished by associations of individuals who have gathered together to work for a common object which was to be of benefit to the community as a whole; and among all the excellent objects for which men and women combine to work to-day, there are few indeed which have a better right to command the energies of those engaged in the movement, and the hearty sympathy and support of those outside, than this movement in which you are engaged.

63

LAW AND ORDER IN EGYPT *

It is to me a peculiar pleasure to speak to-day under such distinguished auspices as yours, Prince Fouad, before this National University, and it is of good augury for the great cause of higher education in Egypt that it should have enlisted the special interest of so distinguished and eminent a man. The Arabic-speaking world produced the great University of Cordova, which flourished a thousand years ago, and was a source of light and learning when the rest of Europe was either in twilight or darkness; in the centuries following the creation of this Spanish Moslem University, Arabic men of science, travellers, and geographers—such as the noteworthy African traveller, Ibu Batutu, a copy of whose book, by the way, I saw yesterday in the library of the Elazhar—were teachers whose works are still to be eagerly studied; and I trust that here we shall see in Cairo the revival and more than the revival of the conditions that made possible such contributions to the growth of civilization.

This scheme of a national university is fraught with literally untold possibilities for good to your country. You have many rocks ahead of which you must steer clear; and because I am your earnest friend and well-wisher, I desire to point out one or two of these which it is necessary especially to avoid. In the first place, there is one point upon which I always lay stress in my own country, in your country, in all countries—the need

* Address before the National University in Cairo, March 28, 1910.

of entire honesty as the only foundation on which it is safe to build. It is a prime essential that all who are in any way responsible for the beginnings of the university shall make it evident to every one that the management of the university, financial and otherwise, will be conducted with absolute honesty. Very much money will have to be raised and expended for this university in order to make it what it can and ought to be made; for if properly managed I firmly believe that it will become one of the greatest, and perhaps the very greatest, influence for good in all that part of the world where Mohammedanism is the leading religion; that is in all those regions of the Orient, including North Africa and southwestern Asia, which stretch from the Atlantic Ocean to the farther confines of India and to the hither provinces of China. This university should have a profound influence in all things educational, social, economic, industrial throughout this whole region, because of the very fact of Egypt's immense strategic importance, so to speak, in the world of the Orient; an importance due partly to her geographical position, partly to other causes. Moreover, it is most fortunate that Egypt's present position is such that this university will enjoy a freedom hitherto unparalleled in the investigation and testing out of all problems vital to the future of the peoples of the Orient.

Nor will the importance of this university be confined to the Orient. Egypt must necessarily from now on, always occupy a similar strategic position as regards the peoples of the Occident, for she sits on one of the great world highways of the commerce that will flow in ever-increasing volume between Europe and the Far East. Those responsible for the management of this university should set before themselves a very high

ideal. Not merely should it stand for the uplifting of all Mohammedan peoples, and of all Christians and peoples of other religions who live in Mohammedan lands, but it should also carry its teaching and practice to such perfection as in the end to make it a factor in instructing the Occident. When a scholar is sufficiently apt, sufficiently sincere and intelligent, he always has before him the opportunity of eventually himself giving aid to the teachers from whom he has received aid.

Now, to make a good beginning toward the definite achievement of these high ends, it is essential that you should command respect and should be absolutely trusted. Make it evident that you will not tolerate the least little particle of financial crookedness in the raising or expenditure of any money, so that those who wish to give money as they ought to give to this deserving cause may feel entire confidence that their piastres will be well and honestly applied.

In the next place, show the same good faith, wisdom, and sincerity in your educational plans that you do in the financial management of the institution. Avoid sham and hollow pretense, just as you avoid religious, racial, or political bigotry. You have much to learn from the universities of Europe and of my own land, but there is not a little in them which you would do well to avoid. Copy what is good in them, but test in a critical spirit whatever you take so as to be sure that you take only what is wisest and best for yourselves. More important even than avoiding any mere educational shortcoming is the avoidance of moral shortcoming. Students are already being sent to Europe to prepare themselves to return as professors. Such preparation is now essential, for it is of prime importance that the university should be in touch with,

familiar with what is being done in the best universities of Europe and America. But let the men who are sent be careful to bring back what is fine and good, what is essential to the highest kind of modern progress, and let them avoid what are the mere non-essentials of the present-day civilization, and above all the vices of modern civilized nations. Let these men keep open minds. It would be a capital blunder to refuse to copy, and thereafter to adapt to your own needs what has raised the Occident in the scale of power and justice and clean living. But it would be a no less capital blunder to copy what is cheap or trivial or vicious, or even what is merely wrong-headed. Let the men who go to Europe feel that they have much to learn and also much to avoid and reject; let them bring back the good and leave behind the discarded evil.

Remember that character is far more important than intellect, and that a really great university should strive to develop the qualities that go to make up character even more than the qualities that go to make up a highly trained mind. No man can reach the front rank if he is not intelligent and if he is not trained with intelligence; but mere intelligence, by itself, is worse than useless, unless it is guided by an upright heart, unless there are also strength and courage behind it. Morality, decency, clean living, courage, manliness, self-respect—these qualities are more important in the make-up of a people than any mental subtlety. Shape this university's course so that it shall help in the production of a constantly upward trend for all your people.

You should be always on your guard against one defect in Western education. There has been altogether too great a tendency in the higher schools of learning in the West to train men merely for literary, profes-

sional, and official positions, altogether too great a tendency to act as if a literary education were the only real education. I am exceedingly glad that you have already started industrial and agricultural schools in Egypt. A literary education is simply one of many different kinds of education, and it is not wise that more than a small percentage of the people of any country should have an exclusively literary education. The average man must either supplement it by another education or else as soon as he has left an institution of learning, even though he has benefited by it, he must at once begin to train himself to do work along totally different lines. His Highness, the Khedive, in the midst of his many activities touching every phase of Egyptian life, has shown conspicuous wisdom, great foresight, and keen understanding of the needs of the country, in the way in which he has devoted himself to its agricultural betterment, in the interest which he has taken in the improvement of cattle, crops, of all agricultural life. You need in this country, as in every country, a certain number of men whose education shall fit them for the life of scholarship or to become preachers or public officials. But it is a very unhealthy thing for any country if more than a small portion of the strongest and best minds of the country be turned into such channels. It is essential also to develop industrialism, to train people so that they can be cultivators of the soil in the largest sense on as successful a scale as the most successful lawyer or banker or public man, to train them so that they shall be engineers, merchants—in short, men able to take the lead in all the infinitely varied directions indispensable in a great modern civilized state. An honest, courageous, and far-sighted politician is a good thing in any country. But his use-

fulness depends chiefly upon his being able to express the wishes of a population wherein the politician forms but a fragment of the leadership, where the business man and landowner, the engineer and man of technical knowledge, the men of a hundred different pursuits, represent the average type of leadership. No people has ever permanently amounted to anything if its only public leaders were clerks, politicians, and lawyers. The base, the foundation of healthy life in any country, in any society, is necessarily composed of the men who do the actual productive work of the country, whether in tilling the soil, in the handicrafts, or in business; and it matters little whether they work with hands or head, although more and more we are growing to realize that it is a good thing to have the same man work with both head and hands. These men in many different careers do the work which is most important to the community's life; although, of course, it must be supplemented by the work of the other men whose education and activities are literary and scholastic; of the men who work in politics or law, or in literary and clerical positions.

I preach this to you here by the banks of the Nile, and it is the identical doctrine I preach no less earnestly by the banks of the Hudson, the Mississippi, and the Columbia.

Remember always that the securing of a substantial education, whether by the individual or by the people, is attained only by a process, not by an act. You can no more make a man really educated by giving him a certain curriculum of studies than you can make a people fit for self-government by giving it a paper constitution. The training of an individual so as to fit him to do good work in the world is a matter of years; just

as the training of a nation to fit it successfully to fulfil the duties of self-government is a matter not of a decade or two but of generations. There are foolish empyricists who believe that the granting of a paper constitution, prefaced by some high-sounding declaration, of itself, confers the power of self-government upon a people. This is never so. Nobody can "give" a people "self-government," any more than it is possible to "give" an individual man "self-help." You know that the Arab proverb runs "God helps those who help themselves." In the long run, the only permanent way that an individual can be helped is to help him to help himself, and this is one of the things your university should inculcate. But it must be his own slow growth in character that is the final and determining factor in the problem. So it is with a people. In the two Americas, we have seen certain commonwealths rise and prosper greatly. We have also seen other commonwealths start under identically the same conditions, with the same freedom, and the same rights, the same guaranties, and yet have seen them fail miserably and lamentably and sink into corruption and anarchy and tyranny, simply because the people for whom the constitution was made did not develop the qualities which alone would enable them to take advantage of it. With any people the essential quality to show is, not haste in grasping after a power which it is only too easy to misuse, but a slow, steady, resolute development of those substantial qualities, such as love of justice, love of fair play, the spirit of self-reliance, of moderation, which alone enable a people to govern themselves. In this long and even tedious but absolutely essential process, I believe your university will take an important part. In the Soudan I was told a vernacular

proverb, based on a verse of the Koran, which is so apt that although I am not an Arabic scholar I shall try to repeat it: "God is with the patient, *if they know how to wait*"—"Allah ma el Saberin, izza saberu."

One essential feature of this process must be a spirit which will condemn every form of lawless evil, every form of envy and hatred and, above all, hatred based upon religion or race. All good men, all the men of every nation whose respect is worth having, have been inexpressibly shocked by the recent assassination of Butros Pasha. It was an even greater calamity for Egypt than it was a wrong to the individual himself. The type of man which turns out an assassin is a type possessing all the qualities most alien to good citizenship; the type which produces poor soldiers in time of war and worse citizens in time of peace. Such a man stands on a pinnacle of evil infamy; and those who apologize for or condone his act, those who by word or deed, directly or indirectly, encourage such an act in advance, or defend it afterward, occupy the same bad eminence. It is of absolutely no consequence whether the assassin be a Moslem or a Christian or a man of no creed, whether the crime be committed in political strife or industrial warfare, whether it be an act hired by a rich man or performed by a poor man, whether it be committed under the pretense of preserving order or the pretense of obtaining liberty. It is equally abhorrent in the eyes of all decent men, and in the long run equally damaging to the very cause which the assassin professes to desire to further.

Your university is a national university and as such knows no creed. This is as it should be. When I speak of equality between Moslem and Christian, I speak as one who believes that where the Christian is more

powerful he should be scrupulous in doing justice to the Moslem, exactly as under reverse conditions, justice should be done by the Moslem to the Christian. In my own country, we have in the Philippines Moslems as well as Christians. We do not tolerate for one moment any oppression by the one or by the other, any discrimination by the government between them or failure to mete out the same justice to each, treating each man on his worth as a man, and behaving toward him as his conduct demands and deserves.

In short, gentlemen, I earnestly hope that all those responsible for the beginnings of this great university, which will become one of the greatest and most powerful educational influences throughout the whole world, will feel it incumbent upon themselves to frown on every form of wrong-doing, whether in the shape of injustice or corruption or lawlessness, and to stand with firmness, with good sense, and with courage, for those immutable principles of justice and merciful dealing as between man and man, without which there can never be the slightest growth toward a really fine and high civilization.

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THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT *

A MONTH ago I made a visit to certain places downtown where any one can see for himself some evidences of what the conditions of unemployment and of suffering in this city are at this time. There is no need of my describing, even in outline, what I saw. This can be done by many men more competent than I am. But I saw enough to enable me to check statements that had been made me. I was very painfully impressed by finding places where hundreds of men, many of them eager for employment, were sleeping on dirty floors, or on newspapers spread out on these floors, or on the sawdust of barrooms, because they had nowhere else to sleep, and many of these men had not for days eaten anything not given them by charity and had no prospect ahead of them of meals on any other basis.

In one place where I stopped—two or three bare rooms in a cheap private employment agency—over a hundred men were passing the night. This represented unhealthy crowding, considering the lack of ventilation; but on one very cold night I was informed that over four hundred men came to pass the night. There were no bunks or beds, nothing but the floor and two or three benches. These four hundred men jammed the rooms so full that they could neither sit down nor lie down. They stood throughout the night wedged together so close that they could not fall, and therefore

* Address at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City, January 26, 1915. From the New York *Times*, January 27.

could sleep only standing. What shape do you think those men were in to hunt jobs next day?

In an all-night mission on the Bowery I found many other men listening to the singing or praying or sleeping in the chairs, who had come in because there was no other place except the street for them to go. Again, is it not evident that a few such nights will weaken a man so that he cannot work? There were places where the saloon-keepers were doing what no one else would do, and allowing men to sleep on the floor of some room as an alternative to walking all night through the streets.

Of the men I saw, many were unquestionably hoboes, tramps who would not work, and who had reduced to a science the art of living a life of squalid and vicious ease without labor. Others were men who, physically or mentally, were such as to make it evident that they could not do really efficient work. Yet others were men so reduced by want as to be unable to do work they would eagerly have done before they were broken in spirit and body. And yet others were at the time fit and eager to do work which they could not find to do.

At the Municipal Lodging House I came across men who a year ago had lost some clerical position, the filling of which needs a respectable appearance. In the hard times it proved impossible for them to get such a position. There are in existence hundreds of shelters and bread-lines, but not one outfitting place; and men can rarely get work unless they have trousers, coats, shirts, shoes, and collars.

Our object must be to meet two different situations. The immediate need is to get funds for the destitute unemployed here in our big city and to devise plans by which private individuals and associations co-operating

with and working under the municipal government will try to meet the present situation—a situation due to the fact that this winter, owing to the general hard times, the unemployment and the misery and suffering are vastly greater than in any ordinary winter.

This is the immediate relief that we have in view, but in addition to that we should consider practicable ways and try to develop long-time projects for the purpose of tackling the permanent industrial problem of unemployment in this country.

As for the first matter, let me urge that we keep clear of the two besetting sins, hardness of heart and softness of head. Just at the moment hardness of the heart, or at least callous and careless indifference to the dreadful misery around us, is the prime difficulty to be overcome; but when we come to long-time projects and permanent plans we must remember all the innumerable evils that flow from softness of head.

The municipality must of course take the lead in securing immediate relief measures. But the city government cannot do more than a certain amount. In addition, the decent citizens who have jobs, the decent citizens who have money, are bound to try in practical fashion to show their belief in the doctrine that each man and each woman must be in some sort the keeper of his or her less fortunate brothers and sisters. What we really need just at this moment is to be good neighbors to our neighbors who are badly off.

Let us by all means work through the charitable associations and arrange to pay a month's rent here and there or give grocery tickets here and there, but above all let us remember the skilled working man and woman who are out of jobs, who have never before asked aid, and who starve and freeze silently. Any organized

relief for unemployment that does not take these men into account would miss a vital factor. And remember that the mere finding of these men and women will be no small job.

I hope that the big industrial industries will look out for their working men, remembering that the chief need now is not for charity, but for work, and incidentally I hope that instead of cutting the rate of wages they will cut hours and employ as many men as possible on half time, rather than half that number on full time.

Let the organized charities improve and expedite their operations and cut all red tape. But remember that committees are not going to do enough. Individuals have got to do their share.

Here is where I think the New York Federation of Churches can do much. Not only should the church care for its own poor, but it should assist all those not related to it, and above all those who most require assistance because they will not appeal to public charities. And the alien and the immigrant stand if anything more in need of assistance than our own people. The Catholic churches are peculiarly fitted for dealing with this question and should be strongly backed. I wish also to speak of the admirable work being done by the Hebrew societies.

To the Protestant churches I especially appeal that they take means of strengthening the weak Protestant organizations in the congested districts. Let families or individuals in the church become personally responsible for finding out needy families or individuals, and meeting their temporary needs, whether clothing, food, doctors, or just friendship. The churches in which there are no poor should feel that the very fact that they have such prosperous congregations makes it im-

perative upon them to work in every possible way to aid the churches that are hampered—and blessed—by dealing with the very poor. Let the churches try to do any repair jobs that can be done just at this time. Above all, you of the prosperous congregation, go systematically to work to have the members of the church canvass their personal friends, canvass given neighborhoods for jobs for the needy, and work through other churches where the need is greater than your own.

Try to see if you cannot utilize the police and the public-school teachers. The policeman knows the people on his beat. The school-teacher is usually particularly familiar with the cases that are most distressing, the cases where the children are suffering because of the unemployment of the father and mother. Remember that a loan is better than a gift, and that the part of wisdom is to work with existing agencies and not start in to do things without any reference to what is already being done by people who know what they are about.

Take up the matter of evictions. Of course, care must be exercised not to pauperize people, not to make men dependents and drones, and not to encourage people whose wits are devoted to devising methods of living on others. I do not wonder that magistrates sometimes grow to feel a distrust of foolish philanthropy; but it does seem to me that before a court order for eviction is signed, where the family has children, the case should be reported to the City Department of Charities; the report of the Department of Charities in such a case should be on the judge's desk when he takes action.

As for the permanent work to be done here in New York and in the nation at large, there is not time for

me to do more than just speak of it; for the question represents not one but a great variety of problems, which must be dealt with in many different ways.

The Municipal Lodging House should be further developed; it should be equipped so as to give discriminating attention to each one of the groups of people who apply to the city for help; it should be made a great human repair-shop.

The segregation, of which I have above spoken, between the unemployed and the unemployable, and among the different grades of unemployed and unemployable, must surely be carried out.

In these present bad times unemployment is an unusually terrible matter, but it exists more or less even during good times. It is intertwined with most of our social and industrial problems, at least with those concerned with the acquiring and distributing of prosperity. Involuntary unemployment due only to lack of work is a permanent problem of industry; and industry and the government should join to eliminate it.

Last year the commissioner of charities of this city made a thorough examination of the cases of fifteen hundred homeless men who applied to the Municipal Lodging House for shelter. Less than a fifth were physically or mentally unemployable. About the same number were drunkards or vagrants. Over half were able and anxious to work; but two-thirds of these belonged to the class whose wages are so low that they are always skirting the brink of disaster.

One of the essentials is vastly to increase the work of the public employment bureaus. The present method by which a man or a woman finds a job is about as primitive as an ox-team, and is expensive in waste, in time, and in the very life of the workers. The available work

and the available workers in the community should be registered at some point where both can meet. Public employment bureaus should handle not merely common labor and the near-unemployable, but also the highest kinds of labor; and the men who run them should be treated as public officers, needing as high qualifications as the highest type of educator, alike as regards character, ability, devotion to the work, and trained intelligence; and ultimately these employment bureaus may very well co-operate with the public schools in directing into the proper channels the work of the scholars who are going into industry.

Public employment bureaus ought not to represent a kind of charity or merely a temporary aid in winter or in times of industrial depression; they should be a great permanent feature of the governmental work of the nation and of the municipality. Only through them can the labor market be so organized as to minimize the difficulties caused by seasonal and short-time work.

I earnestly wish the National Government would at once start work through the Reclamation Service, and through the River and Harbor Service, in such ways as to relieve unemployment. To approach the subject of rivers and harbors from this standpoint instead of from the usual pork-barrel standpoint, would be a welcome change. On some matters work could be begun within thirty days. Investigation is needed; full knowledge is needed; but do let our representatives in public life and our organizers of work realize not only that talk is worthless unless ultimately translated into action, but that there ought to be some immediate translation of words into action, in any case like the present. We all know the anecdote of the old Quaker who, when people were sympathizing with a certain man, suddenly said:

"Well, I sympathize twenty-five dollars; how much do you sympathize?" Sympathy must take practical shape.

All proposals for grappling with such a subject as unemployment in permanent fashion should not only have the long look ahead, but should also possess the immediate look at what is before our own feet. Any effective programme will have to be introduced little by little; and there is already ample knowledge to warrant the immediate introduction of some part of such a programme.

If, for example, the machinery no longer needed at Panama were at once used on a great scheme of flood control in the Mississippi basin, including the Ohio and Missouri, much would be accomplished; and there are works at Mobile, for instance, at the mouth of the Columbia, and in connection with Boston Harbor and the Hudson which every one admits to be needed. The work at such points would do immense good. By all means have a comprehensive study and assemble complete data; but let the actual beginning, the actual putting men to work, go hand in hand with the study and the collection of the data.

Let us establish a Federal Employment Bureau to act as a clearing-house for State and municipal bureaus and to handle the reserve labor supply and intercity and interstate employment, and to begin classification of employables and unemployables and to make investigations. Let us eliminate the padrone and the boarding boss as labor agents; and have the government regulate and oversee private agencies in addition to establishing public agencies.

All kinds of things must be done. Efforts must be made to get businesses to combine different types of

activities, one conducted at one season and one at another, in order to prevent seasonal unemployment, and to distribute the work through the year; and efforts ought to be made to establish businesses in which winter work is done near farming communities where the tremendous demand is for summer work. It may be that the direction of children into industry should be a recognized feature of our public-school system. The Federal Government should at once do all it can as an immediate emergency measure to help in getting settlers on the land; and all the varied fields of national activity should be opened so far as the government has the power, work on needed public highways should be pushed at once; and in Alaska the government should not delay a day longer than necessary in pushing the building of railroads to open the coal-fields.

What I thus say about a permanent labor policy of course represents nothing but the mere effort to call attention by the sketchiest kind of an outline to the way in which the problem should be approached from the permanent standpoint. The immediate need is to deal with the misery under which our fellow men and fellow women here in this city and in the neighborhood roundabout are weighed down. That need must be met through the action of the government authorities, of the churches, of the organized charities, and, above all, by each of us individually. It is a good thing to come here and to assemble elsewhere and talk of what should be done, but only on condition that this very week we start in actually to do it. Friends, words are good only when they are translated into deeds. Let us show our faith by our works, each of us individually and all of us collectively.

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